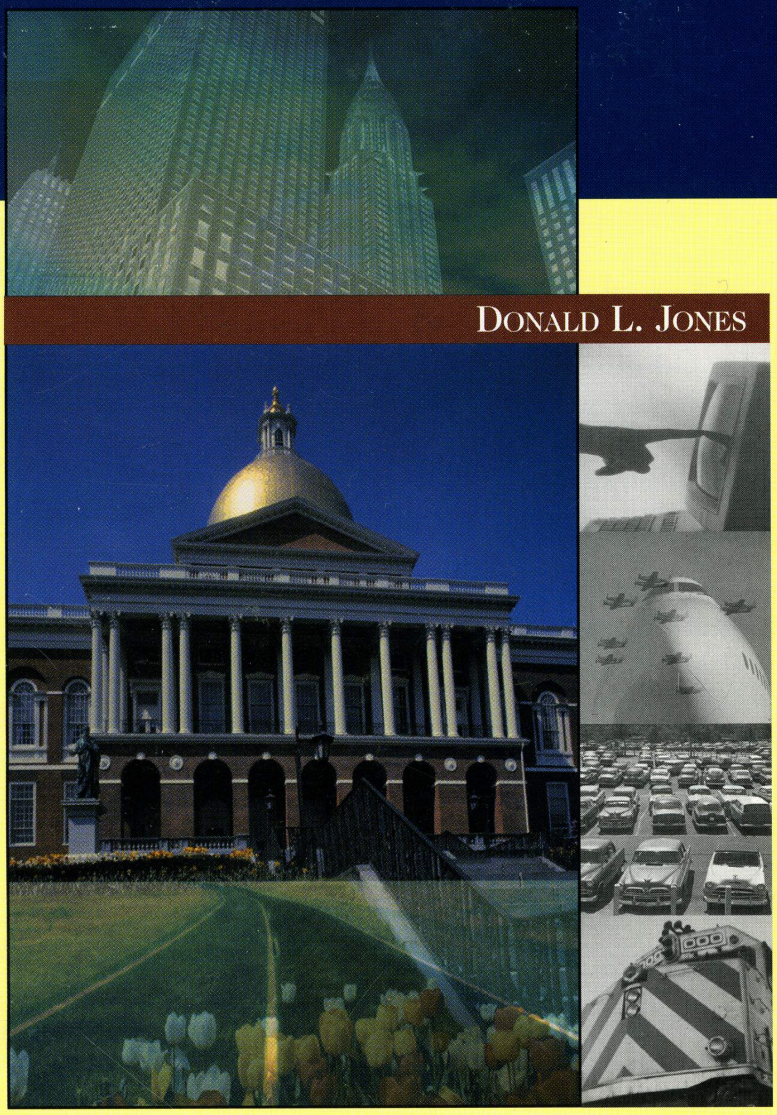
State Municipal Leagues
The First Hundred Years



Donald L. Jones

National League of Cities

About the National League of Cities

The mission of the National League of Cities (NLC) is to strengthen and promote cities as centers of opportunity, leadership, and governance.

NLC was established in 1924 by and for the reform-minded state municipal leagues. It now represents 49 state leagues, more than 1,500 cities and towns of all sizes and, through the membership of the state municipal leagues, more than 18,000 municipalities in total. It is the largest and oldest national organization representing cities and the only one that includes both mayors and council members as active participants.

NLC serves as an advocate for its members in Washington in the legislative, administrative, and judicial processes that affect them; develops and pursues a national municipal policy that meets the present and future needs of our nation's cities and the people who live in them; offers training, technical assistance, and information to municipal officials to help them improve the quality of local government in our urban nation; and undertakes research and analysis on topics and issues of importance to the nation's cities.

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1900
1999

State Municipal Leagues: The First Hundred Years

Donald L. Jones

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Foreword

This important publication is the first to chronicle the history of state municipal leagues, key institutions in American local government that have served as advocates for municipal interests and as providers of training, technical assistance, research, and information to city and town officials for the past one hundred years.

Because the history of our nation's cities is both reflected in and shaped by the institutions that represent them, this book fills an important gap in our knowledge and understanding about the changes and challenges cities have faced over the past century.

Today, the forty-nine state municipal leagues are well-established and highly respected organizations representing the collective interests of local governments. But it was not always so. Like many other institutions that are now a key part of the American landscape, state leagues had rocky and fitful beginnings, overcame severe financial and personnel challenges during the Depression and World War II, and often owed their very existence to determined personal efforts by small groups of individuals.

State leagues were created voluntarily, and they remain voluntary membership organizations. Today, as they did one hundred years ago, state leagues seek to advocate public policy positions that benefit the residents of cities and improve local governance through the exchange of information and experiences. Their success in these tasks is evident: every year, more than 18,000 of the nation's 19,000 municipalities

make an affirmative decision to participate in the activities of their state league.

In addition to all their statewide achievements, ten state municipal leagues met together in Lawrence, Kansas, in 1924 and created a new, national organization to serve as a clearinghouse for information about municipal government. That organization, the American Municipal Association, later became the National League of Cities. Today, the National League of Cities and the forty-nine state municipal leagues work together in partnership at the national, state, and local levels to strengthen and improve municipal government and its institutions. Our collaborative work today is tomorrow's shared history.

It is fitting that this seminal history of the state municipal leagues was researched and written by a veteran of the state league movement, Donald L. Jones. Throughout his entire forty-year career, Jones represented local government interests at positions in state leagues and at the National League of Cities. He worked for five years at the Colorado Municipal League, served for fifteen years as executive director of the League of Oregon Cities, and spent nearly twenty years as director of member programs at the National League of Cities, where he was responsible for developing programs and services for state leagues.

After his retirement from the National League of Cities at the end of 1998, Jones dedicated himself to writing this history of the organizations he served and knows so well. Because of his firsthand knowledge of state leagues, Jones is able to highlight trends and explain nuances that others would miss.

During the past century, many of the trends that have affected our nation's cities have been mirrored in the history of the state municipal leagues. We are immensely grateful to Don for his tireless efforts in researching, writing, and documenting — for the first time — that history in this important book. Anyone interested in urban affairs, public administration, and the history of cities will benefit from its insights.

Donald J. Borut
Executive Director
National League of Cities
November, 1999

Preface

A book solely about state municipal leagues is an idea that has intrigued me for years. State municipal leagues are not well known to the public at large and sometimes seem small and obscure even to those who come in contact with them. But I remain convinced that as a group, state leagues have had enormous influence, far beyond that which their relatively small budgets and staff size might suggest, on how the American system of local government has developed and operates.

Legal concepts of municipal home rule, state laws on everything from annexation to local taxation to zoning, and general public respect for local government (which is mentioned nowhere in the U. S. Constitution but consistently receives higher approval ratings than federal and state governments in public opinion polls) have been strongly shaped by the work of state municipal leagues. Of equal importance has been the impact of state municipal leagues on the lives and actions of countless municipal officials. Leagues have regularly brought newly-elected municipal officials together usually for their first experience in becoming acquainted with peers and learning from each other, providing a much-needed sense of perspective and importance about local officials' roles and responsibilities, and enabling local officials to become part of valuable networks of colleagues where many establish lifelong collegial and personal friendships.

Not bad for institutions whose staffs and budgets are barely noticeable in the overall scheme of things, that carry on their day-to-day work

without much fanfare or public recognition, and that did not even exist a hundred years ago.

This project has been accomplished largely through the review of records that leagues have created of themselves — their magazines, newspapers, and other publications, and the histories some have published for various commemorative events. I have also drawn upon records of state league activity maintained by the American Municipal Association/National League of Cities over the years (albeit with varying degrees of efficiency and completeness during certain periods). I have been stimulated and guided by the relatively few publications and academic studies that others have prepared about state municipal leagues; these are noted in the section on sources and references. And I am indebted to the Rockefeller Archive Center for access to files about The American Municipal Association's work with state municipal leagues in the 1930s.

I am grateful to the executive directors of the state municipal leagues, my respected colleagues over a forty-year working career, for their review and comments about the draft of this work prior to its final publication.

I am indebted to the National League of Cities, especially its current executive director, Don Borut, for making this project possible. Many members of the NLC staff provided help along the way, but I especially acknowledge the work of my colleagues for years in the NLC Center for Member Programs, Marc Shapiro and Catherine Moses, who helped chronicle the activities of state municipal leagues over the past two decades. I also appreciate the help of the able staff of NLC's Municipal Reference Service, in particular Tom Sullivan, who provided direction and access to a range of sources that I might not otherwise have found. Finally, I acknowledge the advice (and the patience) of James Borsig, Jeff Fletcher, Christopher McKenzie, Mike Quinn, and Frank Sturzl, the two NLC center directors and three state league directors who served as a project review committee to help keep this project on track.

Every effort has been made to make this a fair and accurate representation of the record of state municipal leagues over their first century,

while keeping it to manageable proportions, but undoubtedly errors have crept in and omissions have occurred. I regret any such flaws and fully accept responsibility for the final product. But I hope this history captures the significant portions of state league development to date for those who are interested in forces shaping American local government in the 20th century.

Donald L. Jones
September 1999

Introduction: The State League Movement

At the end of the 20th century, associations of municipal governments are organized and functioning in forty-nine of the fifty states — all but Hawaii, where a different local government structure precludes the need for such an association. The forty-nine municipal associations — since 1900 generally referred to as state municipal leagues — have operating budgets totaling $140 million annually; they collectively employ a total of almost 1,400 persons full time.

In 1999, at the end of the 20th century, the forty-nine state municipal leagues are a firmly established feature of the system of American local government. They are recognized by governments at all levels as important institutions providing valuable services to municipal governments. And they are acknowledged as advocates for collective municipal government interests in policy debates and program implementation at all levels of government — federal, state, and local.

One hundred years ago, there were state municipal leagues that would last in only five states, all of them in their infancy, one or two years old. None had a full-time staff. In two other states, first efforts were being made to organize state leagues, but these would turn out to be unsuccessful. The state municipal league "movement" was just beginning.

This is the story of what happened between 1898, when the first permanent leagues were organized, and 1999, when leagues are active organizations in forty-nine states — the story of how state

ganizations in forty-nine states — the story of how state municipal leagues grew and developed in their first one hundred years.

State municipal leagues were created voluntarily and spontaneously in every state except Hawaii over the first six decades of the 20th century. The "youngest" league, Rhode Island, was organized in 1968.

In the early part of the century, formation of state leagues was encouraged as part of the citizen reform movement by the National Municipal League (the citizen organization dating back to 1894 devoted to state and local government reform and now known as the National Civic League). Leagues formed the American Municipal Association (since 1964, the National League of Cities) in 1924, and starting in the 1930s, AMA encouraged and assisted with organizing leagues in the rest of the states. But from the beginning leagues were created in each of the states only as local leadership emerged. They were created as autonomous statewide associations, not as "state chapters" of any national organization.

Usually leagues came into existence as the result of intense personal effort on the part of a handful of local government leaders, sometimes in response to a statewide issue or crisis involving several municipalities (for example, a multicity stolen property fencing operation in Indiana, health administration problems in New York, legislative proposals to limit local taxing powers in Georgia). In other cases, leagues were organized because local leaders wanted municipal officials to come together to exchange information and ideas on improving their communities.

Many leagues were nourished through their infancy with help from a university where a dean, professor, or department head took a strong interest in municipal government and volunteered to provide the secretariat function at little or no cost to the fledgling association. Some leagues developed very close and formal university connections in their early years, sometimes sharing staff, reference files, research capacity, and other resources, but other leagues deliberately refrained from university affiliations. By the end of the century, however, virtually all leagues had completely separated from any formal university connection in favor of operating as free-standing, independent organizations

wholly owned and operated by the municipal governments in their respective states.

The state municipal leagues have much in common but also many differences. Leagues helped one another organize, in many cases sending officers or staff members to meet with interested officials from other states. They used local pride and competition with other states in the early years when building membership was the top priority by pointing to growth in a nearby or comparable state league in their membership promotions. Each league wanted to be as strong as its neighbors, but in the end, each league is a reflection of the governmental culture of its own state — the state constitution, statutes, traditions, and public attitudes toward government in that particular state.

State municipal leagues communicated and cooperated with one another from the beginning, and continue to cooperate and support one another in a variety of ways. The earliest leagues first attempted to form a national organization of state municipal associations under auspices of the National Municipal League. Meeting at the National Municipal League's conference in Detroit in 1917, they planned to form an association, which they named the Conference on State Leagues of Municipalities, and to meet the following year. But the follow-up meeting was never held. Leagues next got together in 1924 to form the national association they called the American Municipal Association, and they have remained closely linked ever since.

Most of the earliest state league activity occurred in the Midwest (Indiana, Iowa, Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, and Kansas), with the earliest out-of-Midwest league being California. New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Utah were other early out-of-Midwest leagues. By 1920, efforts had been made to organize leagues in thirty-two states, but the mortality rate was high, probably due in part to the distractions of World War I. It appears that by 1920, only sixteen of the thirty-two state leagues that had been organized were still operational, although differing numbers of leagues show up on different rosters published at about that time and few records are maintained when leagues slip into inactivity.

During the 1920s and even more so in the 1930s, the movement picked up again, with leagues being reactivated or organized in twenty states over twenty years. During this period, most of the southern states organized or reactivated successfully. Leagues were also organized or successfully reactivated in the balance of the Midwest and the remaining states of the Rocky Mountain West and Far West. By World War II, the only remaining gaps in the state league map were in New England and the mid-Atlantic states.

The World War II years slowed league organizing activity in the 1940s, but in the 1950s and 1960s, the municipal league movement picked up again and spread to the remaining eleven states, including most of New England (Maine is the only pre-World War II New England league). The newest league, Rhode Island, achieved permanent organization in 1968.

This history of state municipal leagues draws on information contained in individual state league histories, state league magazines, other magazines, selected doctoral dissertations and academic studies, and summaries of state league activity published by the American Municipal Association/National League of Cities and earlier the National Municipal League. It melds this information together to try to describe the state municipal league "movement" of the 20th century — how state municipal associations developed and grew as a nationwide phenomenon to their present position of widespread acceptance and influence in this nation's intergovernmental landscape.

The bulk of the book focuses on when, where, and how each of the forty-nine state leagues was organized and how they have grown in terms of budget, staff size, and new programs. Special attention is paid to the role of universities in league development, and to other noteworthy outside funding sources that contributed significantly to league growth and development. Outside funding came from Spelman Fund grants in the early 1930s, federal Works Progress Administration (WPA) funds in the late 1930s, and from several of the so-called Great Society domestic assistance programs of the 1960s and 1970s. The decade-by-decade approach is an attempt to capture a sense of the ups

and downs but basically steady progress of the state league movement in each of the decades of the 20th century.

Following the narrative history are the reflections on long league staff careers of ten persons who are now retired after having served as key staff members or executive directors of state municipal leagues. The difficult decision to limit the number of persons interviewed to ten was made in order to keep the project to manageable size. Many other persons have served state leagues with distinction over long periods, and perhaps other ways can be found to capture these other experiences for the benefit of future generations of league leaders.

The appendices contain selected statistical information about state leagues during their first hundred years.

Before

1900

The Early Days When The First Seven Give It a Try: *Indiana officials hold the country's first state league meeting in 1891 ... Organization of National Municipal League in 1894 stimulates interest in state leagues ... Organization of League of American Municipalities in 1897 stimulates more interest ... Iowa officials organize in Marshalltown on October 12, 1898 ... California and Wisconsin hold organizing meetings on the same date — December 14, 1898 ... Indiana reactivates its league in February, 1899 ... Michigan holds league organizing meeting in May, 1899 ... Illinois and Kansas officials hold organizing meetings but no successful organization results.*

Early efforts to organize state-level associations of municipal officials or municipalities are not well documented, and they are therefore incomplete. Definitions of just what was being organized also complicate the picture. The dividing lines between civic leagues including both public officials and private persons, associations of particular groups of municipal officials and associations of governments were not always clear.

Some early organizing activity has undoubtedly been overlooked, but the available records point to the last decade of the 19th century — 1890 to 1899 — as the starting point for the state municipal league movement. Some early organizing support came from civic clubs and

private citizen reform groups concerned about widespread reports of scandal and corruption in municipal government. Other early efforts were driven by locally elected officials themselves seeking communication with their peers about ways of dealing with common problems or seeking support in lobbying state legislatures on particular issues. Most accounts list Indiana as the first state in which a state municipal league meeting was held, this occurring in 1891, but despite this and several other meetings, it was not until 1899 that the league was successfully launched.

In Illinois, a mayors' convention was held in Joliet as early as 1878, but it was 1898, twenty years later, before attempts were made to organize a league of municipalities in Illinois. Meetings in 1898 and 1899 failed to produce a formal league organization, however, and the Illinois Municipal League considers 1908 as its founding date. The three oldest continuously-operating leagues — California, Iowa, and Wisconsin — date from 1898. Michigan was organized in 1899. With the addition of the reactivated Indiana league, also in 1899, these are the five states organized by the turn of the century, and they are the oldest continuously operating state leagues.

Two important events of the mid-1890s that affected the state league movement were the founding of National Municipal League in 1894 and the League of American Municipalities in 1897. Neither group was directly involved in helping state leagues get started, but those who did organize state leagues were stimulated by activity of both groups.

The National Municipal League was organized as a citizens' reform group, building on the interest of local civic clubs and citizen groups. It was not designed as an organization of public officials or municipal governments. But the National Municipal League gave general support to associations of municipal officials in each state, seeing them as ways to improve local government by facilitating cooperation, exchange of information and ideas on best practices, and discussion of new solutions to common municipal problems. At one point, a formal relationship with state leagues was considered but rejected, and despite the confusion of names between the National Municipal League (since re-

named National Civic League) and state municipal leagues, there never has been any formal relationship.

The League of American Municipalities was organized as an association of public officials to exchange information and experience on common problems. Organizers considered but did not implement the concept of the national group as a federation of state municipal leagues, seeing such an arrangement as too cumbersome. Subsequently, hostility developed between the League of American Municipalities and state municipal leagues, and for a number of reasons, by 1916 the League of American Municipalities had disbanded.

Indiana Officials Hold the Country's First State League Meeting

In 1891, officials from eleven Indiana cities and towns gathered in Huntington for what is generally believed to be the first state municipal league meeting in America. They met several additional times informally in the years following, but it was not until 1899 that the league was successful in getting formally organized.

National Municipal League Sparks Interest in State Leagues

In 1894, the National Municipal League was formed at a meeting in Philadelphia. More than one hundred business leaders, educators, journalists, and policy makers attended a two-day meeting to discuss the future of American cities. According to the National Civic League, many were convinced that the "corporate model" of management held valuable lessons for the public sector. They agreed to form a national organization to help local reform groups learn from each other's successes and failures. Among those attending were several notable "turn-of-the-century progressives" including Louis Brandeis, Charles Eliot, Marshall Field, Mary Mumford, Frederick Law Olmstead, and Theodore Roosevelt. Much of the impetus for the National Municipal League came from the various civic associations that had developed in cities around the country. Public official participation in these civic associations was limited and varied, and in some cases, public officials' views differed from the views of the civic associations on the causes of and remedies for local problems.

Interest thus developed in a national organization of city officials, along the lines of the state effort in Indiana in 1891. To meet this interest, the League of American Municipalities was organized at a meeting in 1897 in Columbus, Ohio, three years after the National Municipal League was organized and before organization of public officials in states other than Indiana. The League of American Municipalities objectives: "the perpetuation of the organization as an agency for the cooperation of American cities in the practical study of all questions pertaining to municipal administration; the holding of annual conventions for the discussion of contemporaneous municipal affairs; the establishment and maintenance of a central bureau of information for the collection, compilation and dissemination of a statistics, reports and all kinds of information relative to municipal government." These objectives were virtually identical to those of the Indiana league, the primary difference being that the Indiana league had one additional purpose: "to promote legislation beneficial to the cities of the State."

The mayor of Des Moines, Iowa, became the first president of the League of American Municipalities. At first, the office was in New York City, but it was soon moved to Des Moines, and the Des Moines mayor became the secretary of the league. When the League of American Municipalities was being organized, consideration was given to making it a federation of state municipal leagues, with a prerequisite for membership in the national organization being the formation of a state organization. This was discarded as cumbersome and impractical, but it seems likely that some of the interest in organizing the early state leagues came from efforts to organize and maintain the League of American Municipalities as well as the National Municipal League.

Iowa Officials Organize on October 12, 1898

In Iowa, the mayors of Cedar Rapids, Des Moines, Iowa City, Marshalltown, and Muscatine attended the 1898 convention of the League of American Municipalities in Detroit. As they returned home, they discussed their view that municipalities in Iowa didn't seem to have much in common with some of the major cities of the Northeast, and that a statewide organization would make sense. They decided to hold an organizing meeting in Marshalltown, where thirty-five delegates

from twenty-three cities met on October 12, 1898, to organize the League of Iowa Municipalities. The mayor of Marshalltown was elected executive secretary, a position he held until 1946, long after leaving the mayor's office, serving longer than any other person in state league history as the chief administrative officer of a state municipal league. Dues for the new Iowa league — which can be considered the first state league — were set at $1 per 2,000 population. McGregor, Iowa, paid dues of $1; Sioux City, $10; Council Bluffs, $11; Des Moines, $29. The league's receipts for 1899 totaled $235.58; its expenditures, $216.41.

The Marshalltown mayor was also a publisher, and operated several other businesses including a municipal supply business. In October 1900, he launched *Midland Municipalities,* a magazine that he designated as the Iowa league's official publication but said was designed to serve not only Iowa but other states in the Midwest. It was the first of five regional state league magazines, all of which have since been discontinued or cut back to single-state focus. The magazine was expanded and renamed *American Municipalities* in 1912 so that it could become the official publication of the League of American Municipalities. The League of American Municipalities was also headquartered in Iowa for most of its life, with the Des Moines mayor serving as president, then as secretary, and then again as president. *American Municipalities* was published by the Iowa league secretary until 1946, shortly before his death.

California Holds an Organizing Meeting in December 1898

Reading a report of a National Municipal League meeting in New York City sparked the idea of organizing a league of municipalities in California. In 1898, the city clerk of Santa Clara, who was also editor of the Santa Clara News and an attorney, received a letter of inquiry from the city clerk of Alameda. It asked about experience with a new mechanical device, a road roller, and additionally asked for information about city population, names of city officials, and date of incorporation. The Santa Clara clerk traveled to Alameda to talk with the clerk there and to review the compilation of survey results, his interest being more in the roster of municipalities that had been developed in the survey

than in road rollers. The two city clerks decided that California needed an organization of municipalities that could maintain information on road rollers and other matters such as record keeping and tax assessment and collection. The Santa Clara clerk took his idea to the mayor of Santa Clara, who authorized a letter to other mayors in the state to see if they would attend a meeting to discuss matters of mutual interest.

The two city clerks concluded that they had two major problems — money and a place for a meeting. So they sailed across San Francisco Bay to visit the mayor of San Francisco, who was known to be a person of means and interested in running for higher office. The San Francisco mayor liked the idea of the meeting and offered a place to meet in San Francisco along with $3,000 from his own pocket to pay expenses. The Santa Clara clerk also convinced the Southern Pacific Railroad to provide free transportation in the form of a 3,000-mile railroad pass. Half the cities in California responded favorably to the letter of inquiry about an organizing meeting, and arrangements were made to hold the meeting on December 14, 1898, at Pioneer Hall on Fourth Street in San Francisco. The date was chosen to permit discussion of legislation affecting cities that would be introduced in the 1899 legislature. Thirty cities answered the invitation; others sent words of encouragement. Thirteen cities, most from the San Francisco Bay area, sent delegates, and the California League of Municipalities was organized. The Santa Clara clerk was named secretary, a position he held for thirty-four years until 1932.

Wisconsin Holds an Organizing Meeting

In Wisconsin, interest in a league came from a combination of interest in civic improvement from the Progressive Movement launched by Robert M. LaFollette, interest of women activists lobbying for education and civic improvement despite being denied voting rights, and strong interest at the University of Wisconsin in what was known as the Wisconsin Idea, or the idea that the boundaries of the university are the boundaries of the state. It led mayors of southern Wisconsin cities to invite their colleagues to Madison, the capital city, for a meeting to "learn from each other and organize for the general improvement of and facilitation of every branch of municipal government."

The organizational meeting was held in Madison on December 14, 1898, ironically the same date that California city officials were meeting in San Francisco to launch the California League of Municipalities. The mayors of eleven Wisconsin municipalities attended. A University of Wisconsin political science professor agreed to serve as secretary, a position he held until 1907. The league's purposes: study administration, hold conventions, establish a Central Bureau of Information, secure beneficial legislation, and oppose injurious legislation. The league has operated continuously since that first meeting.

Indiana Reactivates Its League

The successful second organizing meeting for the league in Indiana was held in February 1899. The meeting was again held in Huntington, at the invitation of Huntington's Mayor and Police Chief, stimulated by a council member's concern about a stolen property fencing operation in the region. The stated purpose was to foster cooperation among the assembled municipalities in apprehending "an organized gang of thieves engaged in pilfering, stealing and burglary," with the hope that a cooperative effort would help break up the fencing operation. But the purpose of the meeting turned out to be broader. Those attending agreed to form a legislative committee to seek uniformity in state statutes on local government and to seek state assistance. The group also sought and obtained from area telephone companies free use of telephones for police and city business, including league business.

Michigan Holds a League Organizing Meeting in May 1898

As in Iowa, a national meeting figured in the move to establish a league in Michigan. In 1898, the mayor of Saginaw issued a call for a League of Michigan Municipalities. He had attended the 1898 League of American Municipalities meeting in Detroit, and came away with the sense that municipalities in Michigan needed a vehicle for cooperation. The first meeting was held the following May in Lansing, the state capital, with the permanent organization approved at a meeting in September 1899, in Grand Rapids. The stated objectives were cooperation in the study of questions pertaining to municipal government, the holding of an annual convention, and the establishment of an informa-

tion bureau. Officials attending the first meeting discussed municipal ownership of lighting plants, peddlers and transient merchants, assessment of property owners for street paving, sidewalk construction, tax evaders, and public health. Dues ranged from $3 to $40 per city. The league's only activities for the first several years were the annual conventions and arranging for league officials to attend legislative sessions to press for favorable legislation. Dues income did not permit any staff. In 1904, when the league met in Ann Arbor, a University of Michigan professor was designated part-time league secretary. The league existed without full-time staff for its first twenty-nine years.

Illinois and Kansas Organizing Meetings Unsuccessful

In another mid-America state, Illinois, there is a record of efforts to start a municipal league in the 1890s. Meetings were held in Peoria in 1898 and 1899 to discuss municipal problems and the possibilities of a state organization, but nothing came of these efforts, and it was 1906 before efforts to organize a league in Illinois were successful.

In Kansas, there are records of cities of the first class (those over 15,000 population at that time) convening in 1892 to discuss legislation, and of six of these cities convening in Topeka in 1895 to form the Kansas Municipal League. But the present-day League of Kansas Municipalities dates its founding to 1910. Thus the 19th century came to a close with leagues operating in five states (California, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan and Wisconsin) and efforts having been made in Illinois and Kansas that would not succeed for another decade.

The

1900s

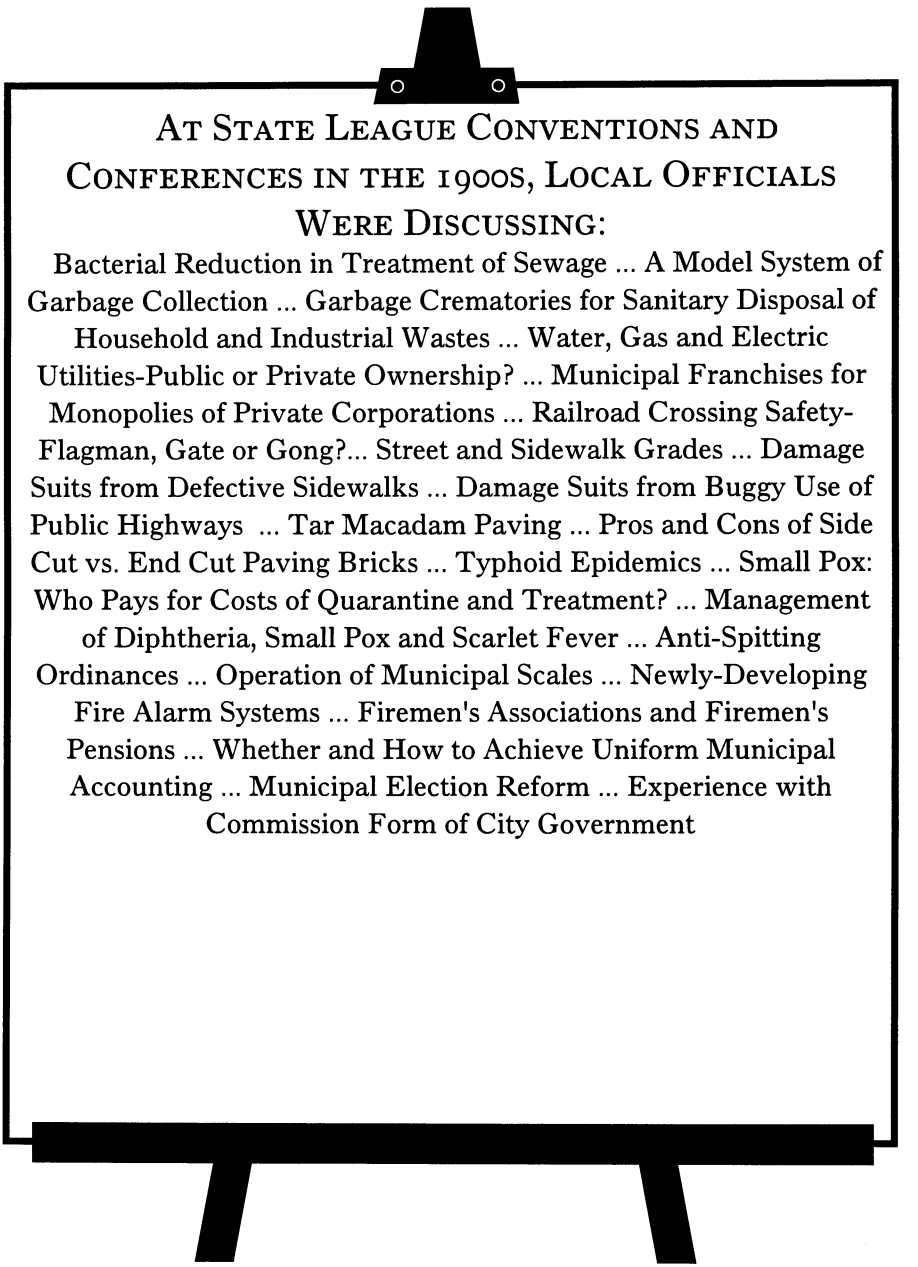
Another Six Join the Movement as it Begins to Spread: *Pennsylvania Organizes Cities of the Third Class in 1900 ... Minnesota Makes Its First Try in 1903, Succeeds a Decade Later ... Two Dozen Officials Launch Virginia League in 1905 ... Utah Municipal League Established in 1907 ... North Carolina Makes Its First Start in 1908 ... Missouri Makes Its First Start in 1908.*

The first decade of the new 20th century saw state municipal leagues organized in another six states — Minnesota, Missouri, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Utah, and Virginia. The Minnesota league did not actually become operational until a decade later in 1913, and the Missouri and North Carolina leagues lapsed into inactivity around World War I.

This was also the decade in which the League of American Municipalities, founded in 1897, is generally considered to have achieved its peak. By 1917, however, it would cease to operate.

Pennsylvania Organizes Cities of the Third Class in 1900

In Pennsylvania, the first state to organize in the new decade, a meeting in the county court house in York on May 15, 1900, capped a number of years of effort in the 1880s and 1890s to organize a league. A meeting in Williamsport in 1888 was the first meeting of Pennsylvania city officials, and a meeting in Scranton in either 1893 or



At State League Conventions and Conferences in the 1900s, Local Officials Were Discussing:

Bacterial Reduction in Treatment of Sewage ... A Model System of Garbage Collection ... Garbage Crematories for Sanitary Disposal of Household and Industrial Wastes ... Water, Gas and Electric Utilities-Public or Private Ownership? ... Municipal Franchises for Monopolies of Private Corporations ... Railroad Crossing Safety-Flagman, Gate or Gong?... Street and Sidewalk Grades ... Damage Suits from Defective Sidewalks ... Damage Suits from Buggy Use of Public Highways ... Tar Macadam Paving ... Pros and Cons of Side Cut vs. End Cut Paving Bricks ... Typhoid Epidemics ... Small Pox: Who Pays for Costs of Quarantine and Treatment? ... Management of Diphtheria, Small Pox and Scarlet Fever ... Anti-Spitting Ordinances ... Operation of Municipal Scales ... Newly-Developing Fire Alarm Systems ... Firemen's Associations and Firemen's Pensions ... Whether and How to Achieve Uniform Municipal Accounting ... Municipal Election Reform ... Experience with Commission Form of City Government

year hasn't been established) was the second. The successful meeting in York in 1900 grew out of a meeting between the mayors of Erie and Bradford to discuss common problems, at which time they agreed on the need for an organization. They decided to meet with the mayor of Harrisburg, and as a result, an invitation was sent to all mayors inviting them to an exploratory meeting in Harrisburg in October 1899.

At the Harrisburg meeting, the group agreed to meet in York in May 1900 to organize the League of Cities of the Third Class. Philadelphia, the state's only first class city, and Pittsburgh and Scranton, the state's only second class cities at the time, were not eligible for membership until a bylaws revision fifty-five years later in 1955. After agreeing on the constitution and bylaws for the new league, the group formed a legislative committee to work on proposals to the 1901 session of the General Assembly. So that the committee could present its report to the membership, a second annual convention was held that same year, on November 20 and 21, 1900, in Harrisburg.

Minnesota Tries First in 1903, Succeeds a Decade Later

The Minnesota Municipal and Commercial League was organized March 8, 1903, with membership that included not only municipalities but also commercial clubs, chambers of commerce, businessmen's organizations, and boards of trade. It was the first organization in what Minnesota described as the "University-Municipality" system. A major purpose of the new league was combating discrimination in railroad rates against smaller communities, but the exchange of experience concerning municipal problems was also listed as a purpose. Dues were set at $5.00 for cities up to 1,000 population, $7.50 for those from 1,000 to 3,000, and $10.00 for those over 10,000 population. The league survived until 1907, by which time its membership included forty-six municipalities and forty-one commercial organizations. After the organization ended, an effort was made to organize a League of Commercial Clubs, but it lasted only a short time, and it was not until 1913 that the present-day league was organized.

Two Dozen Officials Launch Virginia League in 1905

The chief executive of Newport News, Virginia, called his state's local officials together for a meeting in Richmond on December 14, 1905. Guest speaker was the secretary of the National Municipal League, who outlined advantages and benefits of a well-directed state league of municipalities. The two dozen officials who attended agreed unanimously to create the organization. The Virginia Municipal League held its first annual convention the following year, on October 4 and 5, 1906, in Newport News. The clerk and auditor of Portsmouth became secretary-treasurer in 1906 or 1907, serving on a part-time, mostly volunteer, basis as the league's only staff person for the next fifteen years until 1921. The league's annual conventions were the primary activity during those early years.

Utah Municipal League Established in 1907

In Utah, municipal officials held their organizing meeting in February, 1907, and although details of early activity are sketchy, Utah was listed on all rosters of state leagues published after that time. The league's primary activity during the early years was an annual convention. The Utah league saw its mission as twofold: protect the interests of Utah municipalities and promote active interest in municipal affairs. The Utah legislature had little apparent interest in interfering in local affairs, and it was not until the depression year of 1932 that the league, working with the Salt Lake Chamber of Commerce, persuaded the legislature to clarify local authority with a municipal home rule law. By 1937, the league decided to reorganize, employ full-time staff, expand its legislative activity, and launch training and other service programs.

North Carolina Makes its First Start in 1908

The first state municipal league organizing effort in North Carolina was a meeting in Charlotte on November 17-18, 1908. Under the headline "A Great Gathering of Mayors," the *Charlotte Observer,* which enthusiastically endorsed the meeting, gave it more than three full pages of coverage and called the host mayor "the presiding genius of the meeting." The newspaper reported that more than five hundred persons attended, which probably included many private citizens. Representatives of twenty-two cities were present to cast ballots on the

location of the next convention. The governor of North Carolina attended, and guest speakers included the mayors of Boston, Massachusetts, and Houston, Texas. The new organization was called Carolina Municipal Association, and some officials from South Carolina accepted the invitation to participate and even to serve on committees, although it seems that it was never intended to be a two-state municipal association.

At the organizing meeting, officials adopted "Articles of Association" stating the purposes to be "to induce the cooperation of Carolina cities and towns in the practical study of questions pertaining to municipal administration; to produce and disseminate information of value relating to the conduct of municipal affairs; to promote the exchange of suggestions between its members...; to encourage and petition for legislation which will tend to an economical administration of municipal government, and generally to aid the advancement of good civic management in all the municipalities of the State." A dues schedule ranging from $5 for the smallest to $100 for the three largest municipalities was adopted. Just what happened during the next fourteen years is not clear, but there are records of annual conventions every year but one through 1917. The league did not meet in 1918 and 1919. The association apparently encountered financial problems and fell into inactivity.

Missouri Makes its First Start in 1908

Records are sparse concerning the first Missouri Municipal League, which is known to have been organized at a meeting in Kansas City, September 22, 1908, with fifty-four officials from fifteen cities in attendance. How long it functioned is unknown, but a league in Missouri appeared on rosters of leagues published in 1914 and 1918. The present-day Missouri Municipal League dates its founding from 1927.

Records are similarly sparse on other organizing efforts during the decade. The secretary of the Iowa league, invited to speak to the first League of Nebraska Municipalities meeting in 1910, told delegates that "In the past ten years, I have noticed that Municipal Leagues have been organized in Colorado, Kansas, North Dakota, Minnesota, and Missouri and several eastern states, but they have all died an early

death." He attributed the failure of leagues in other states to their inability to set their dues schedules high enough to produce sufficient revenues to maintain an effective organization, saying that only Iowa and California had adopted adequate dues schedules. Iowa's dues in the mid-1910s ranged from $5 for municipalities under 2,000 population to $70 for those over 60,000 population. California's dues were $10 for cities under 1,000 population increasing in $10 increments up to a maximum of $60 for cities over 150,000 population.

As a sample of early league budgets, Iowa's total league income in 1905 was $844.12 and total expenses were $820.13, leaving a carryover balance of $24.29. Iowa called itself the largest league in the country during that time, with a total of 141 members by the end of the decade. Its membership recruitment efforts received a boost when the 1907 legislature passed a bill specifically authorizing municipalities to pay dues to the League of Iowa Municipalities "of not more than $5 for each one thousand population" and "to pay the actual expenses of not more than two delegates to the meetings of such league."

State Leagues in a Changing Nation . . . The 1900s	
U. S. Population in 1900:	75,994,575
U. S. Population in 1910:	91,994,266
Per Cent Urban in 1900	39.6
Per Cent Urban in 1910	45.6

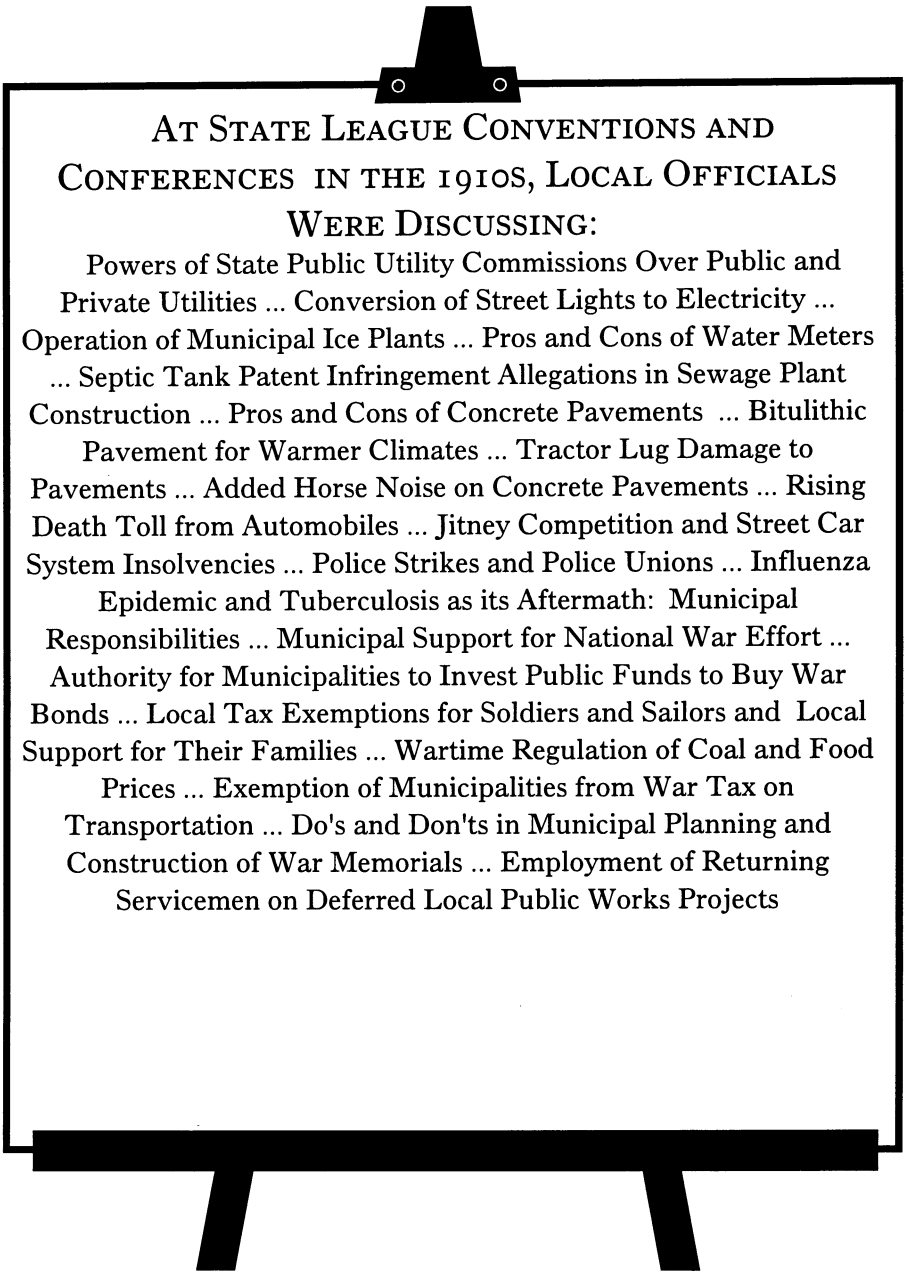
The first decade of the new century thus concluded with six more leagues known to have been formally organized, but only three of the six — Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Utah — able to claim permanent existence dating from those first efforts. They joined the list of five from the 1890s — California, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, and Wisconsin — as the leagues with the longest permanent existence. In Minnesota, Missouri, and North Carolina, a later second start would be necessary.

The

1910s

An Early Boom Develops But Many Fail Around World War I: *Nebraska Officials Launch Their League in January, 1910 ... Kansas Successfully Organizes in May, 1910 ... New York Organizes Conference of Mayors in June 1910 ... Washington Officials Meet in November 1910 to Organize ... Montana Officials Make First Attempt to Organize League in 1910 ... North Dakota Makes Its First Effort in September 1912 in Grand Forks ... Ohio Makes Its First Start in 1912 ... League of Pacific Northwest Municipalities Launched in 1912 ... Minnesota Restarts in 1913 and Oklahoma and Texas Get Their Leagues Under Way ... Oregon and Tennessee Make Their First Starts in 1913 ... Illinois restarts in 1914 ... Alabama and Colorado Make Their First Starts in 1914 ... New Jersey Officials Organize League in 1915 in Trenton ... New Mexico Tries in 1915, Georgia in 1916, Arkansas and West Virginia in 1917, Idaho and Mississippi in 1918 ... The Tally by 1920: Efforts to Organize in Thirty-two States, About Half No Longer Active ... ... League Secretaries Organize in 1917 in Detroit, but Follow-up Meeting Never Held ...*

The second decade of the new century saw a boom in state league organizing efforts. Five states held organizing meetings in 1910, two in 1912, another five in 1913, four in 1914, two in 1915, and another five in the following three years. Additionally, a three-state League of Pacific Northwest Municipalities was organized in 1912. Many of the organizing meetings were held with assistance from a state



At State League Conventions and Conferences in the 1910s, Local Officials Were Discussing:

Powers of State Public Utility Commissions Over Public and Private Utilities ... Conversion of Street Lights to Electricity ... Operation of Municipal Ice Plants ... Pros and Cons of Water Meters ... Septic Tank Patent Infringement Allegations in Sewage Plant Construction ... Pros and Cons of Concrete Pavements ... Bitulithic Pavement for Warmer Climates ... Tractor Lug Damage to Pavements ... Added Horse Noise on Concrete Pavements ... Rising Death Toll from Automobiles ... Jitney Competition and Street Car System Insolvencies ... Police Strikes and Police Unions ... Influenza Epidemic and Tuberculosis as its Aftermath: Municipal Responsibilities ... Municipal Support for National War Effort ... Authority for Municipalities to Invest Public Funds to Buy War Bonds ... Local Tax Exemptions for Soldiers and Sailors and Local Support for Their Families ... Wartime Regulation of Coal and Food Prices ... Exemption of Municipalities from War Tax on Transportation ... Do's and Don'ts in Municipal Planning and Construction of War Memorials ... Employment of Returning Servicemen on Deferred Local Public Works Projects

The "Wisconsin Idea" (the university's boundaries are the state's) spread quickly among state institutions of higher education, especially in the Midwest. The concept of University Extension became popular, and it usually included setting up a municipal reference bureau as a means of serving communities throughout the state. But only eight of the leagues organized in the decade — Illinois, Kansas, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, Oklahoma, and Texas — achieved permanence. They joined three survivors from the previous decade-Pennsylvania, Utah and Virginia — and five from the 1890s — California, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, and Wisconsin — as the sixteen leagues who have been in continuous operation since before World War I. The League of Pacific Northwest Municipalities lasted only three years.

The League of American Municipalities fell into decline after 1910, experiencing poor attendance at meetings and some financial difficulties. At the 1915 meeting, a representative of the Municipal League of Indiana was denied floor privileges at the League of American Municipalities convention. When a resolution to allow state league membership was held to be unconstitutional by the national group, the Indiana league discontinued support for the national organization, which likely discouraged the participation of other state leagues. The League of American Municipalities held its last meeting in 1916, and by 1917, twenty years after its founding, it ceased to operate.

The effort of state league secretaries to organize a national Conference on State Leagues of Municipalities in 1917 did not succeed.

World War I dominated the latter part of the decade, with leagues trying to assist in the war effort in various ways. And the influenza epidemic of 1918, which had major impact on local health departments, is known to have caused cancellation of the annual convention of at least one league (California) and postponement of at least one other (Iowa). Other league meetings were likely affected by the influenza epidemic.

Nebraska Officials Launch Their League in January 1910

The mayor of Lincoln, Nebraska, opened a meeting on January 26, 1910, by saying that in response to his invitation letters showing active interest in organizing a league in Nebraska had been received from

more than one hundred cities. A roll call showed forty-one municipalities represented. The guest speaker at the meeting was the secretary of the neighboring League of Iowa Municipalities. He reviewed the organization and programs of the Iowa league, and urged Nebraska officials not to make the same mistake as Iowa and other states — setting the dues schedule so low that revenues are insufficient to maintain an active organization. The mayor of Lincoln advised that he had asked a professor at the University of Nebraska to prepare a suggested constitution and by-laws. The draft, based on by-laws of the Iowa league, was adopted and the Nebraska league was under way.

Kansas Successfully Organizes in May 1910

Fifty-two persons representing thirty-two Kansas municipalities attended the organizing meeting in Wichita at the invitation of Wichita's mayor. The meeting was held May 18 and 19, 1910, in the mayor's office. In his letter of invitation, the mayor suggested one reason for organizing: "There is a class of officials elected to office who feel they are ignorant of municipal affairs....So we find these officials anxious for information." He also urged development of a legislative program to protect municipal interests.

A professor who had just been recruited by the University of Kansas to organize an extension program along the lines of the University of Wisconsin's worked with the Wichita mayor in organizing the meeting, and was present at the sessions. He was setting up a municipal reference bureau at the University, and believed that a cooperative statewide organization of municipalities could help provide information to and pool experience of municipal officials. He offered to house the new league organization in the extension division and was named the league's first secretary-treasurer. The league remained housed at the university until 1942. Also present at the Kansas organizational meeting was the secretary of the League of Iowa Municipalities, who provided information on the Iowa league experience as he had at the Nebraska league organizational meeting just four months earlier.

New York Organizes Conference of Mayors in June 1910

In New York, the physician-mayor of Schenectady called a meeting of mayors from around the state. A former city health officer, the mayor was concerned over problems of municipal health administration and wanted to hold a conference on the subject. Thus the theme for the first New York Conference of Mayors meeting, held on June 23 and 24, 1910, was "City Healthful." A total of forty-two of the state's then-forty-nine mayors attended. The meeting was so successful that a resolution was adopted calling for another conference the following year to be held in Poughkeepsie, the theme to be the structure of municipal government. A committee of five mayors was appointed to present a plan for a permanent organization to the 1911 meeting.

No formal constitution or by-laws were proposed or adopted until 1925, but the mayors kept meeting and conducted business by adopting resolutions. A part-time secretary was retained to handle the business of the association; he became full-time in 1915. The conference opened its membership to village mayors in 1924, and later changed its membership structure to provide that municipalities, rather than individuals, were members. A municipal information service began in 1915, and the conference's legislative committee formulated its first legislative program in 1920.

Washington Officials Meet in November 1910 to Organize

The mayor of Seattle called a meeting of city officials for November 18, 1910, to discuss home rule legislation for first class cities. The mayor was concerned about cities losing their charter power and authority to the legislature and the State Railway Commission. "Under present conditions, we have no more charter than a jack rabbit," he said. "It was for the purpose of discussing the needs of cities that this convention was called." The League of Washington Municipalities was formed, and its first president, Seattle's assistant corporation counsel, said "It was the first practical demonstration to the municipal officials in this state of the advantage of association in the solution of municipal problems."

Two years later, the University of Washington developed its Bureau of Municipal Research as a clearinghouse of information on legislative

and municipal administrative issues. The new bureau also served as headquarters for the league. But the league was disbanded four years later in 1916 due to lack of participation.

Montana Officials Make a First Attempt to Organize in 1910

At least two rosters indicate that the first effort to organize a Montana league was made in 1910. And rosters of leagues prepared in 1916, 1917, and 1918 by the National Municipal League list a league in Montana. But no other records of a Montana league in the 1910s and 1920s have been located. The present-day Montana league considers 1932 as its founding date.

North Dakota Makes Its First Effort in September 1912

North Dakota's first effort to organize a league came at a meeting in Grand Forks, September 25, 1912. Delegates toured the city, held workshop discussions on such issues as paving, sewers, water mains and hydrants, and agreed to form a municipal league. The mayor of Grand Forks was named president, and the city clerk of Grand Forks was named secretary. Dues were set at $3 for municipalities under 1,000 population, $5 for those in the 1,000-to-3,000 bracket, and $10 for those over 3,000. Each municipality would be entitled to one vote. Delegates agreed on two other nonvoting membership classes — Honorary Members for former municipal officials, and Associate Members for persons who sell to municipalities, which permitted them to display their materials and wares at annual meetings. The newly formed league agreed to meet again in January 1913 during the legislative session, but records of the second and further meetings during this period have not been found. By the time a roster of state leagues was published in 1918, the North Dakota league was listed as inactive.

Ohio Makes its First Start in 1912

There are reports that the Ohio Municipal League first met in 1912 and met at least three more times. There are reports in national journals of the second annual meeting January 20 and 21, 1913, in Columbus, a third annual meeting January 21 and 22, 1914, in Columbus, and a fourth annual meeting February 11 and 12, 1915, in Columbus. The Ohio Municipal League is listed on rosters of state leagues appearing in

1914 and 1918. But little is known of exactly how the league got organized in 1912 or how long it remained active. Later efforts to establish a league in Ohio were plagued by a state Supreme Court decision in 1925 that prohibited use of public funds to maintain the league, and it was not until 1951 that the Ohio Supreme Court removed the legal cloud over public funds to support a league.

League of Pacific Northwest Municipalities Founded in 1912

What has been identified as "the only successful or significant" regional municipal league, the Pacific Northwest League of Municipalities, was founded in October of that year at a meeting in Spokane, Washington. The proceedings of the meeting noted that "Because of the economic, social, and cultural unity of the old Oregon Territory, it was thought that Washington, Oregon, and Idaho formed a natural basis for such a league of mutual assistance." A former Washington governor was its first president, and the roster of state leagues published in 1914 listed the secretary as a professor at Whitman College in Walla Walla, Washington. The organization met again in 1913 in Portland, Oregon, and in 1914 in Seattle, Washington, but apparently faded rapidly after that; there is no record of meetings after 1914.

Minnesota Tries Again; Oklahoma, Texas Get Underway in 1913

One hundred and fourteen persons attended what was described as the first meeting of the League of Minnesota Municipalities at St. Paul in 1913. Whether the effort to organize in 1903 was known to the group in 1913 is not certain. The 1913 meeting followed passage of state legislation that year creating the General Extension Division as a "statewide campus" of the University of Minnesota to bring the benefits of modern knowledge to all parts of the state. The legislation created the League of Minnesota Municipalities as a part of the extension division. The University of Kansas professor who was municipal reference bureau director there as well as the first Kansas league director had been recruited by the University of Minnesota, and was proceeding to establish a Municipal Reference Bureau within the new Extension Division to gather information of interest and value to local communities. The

Minnesota league remained on campus until 1974, a direct university-league relationship that lasted longer than any other.

Although the state of Oklahoma was only six years old in 1913, officials of five Oklahoma communities met in Ada at the invitation of the mayor and created the Oklahoma Municipal League. The five communities became the first five members of the new organization, and the mayor of Ada was elected president. The organization remained a small, relatively inactive group of mayors and a few other municipal officials during the balance of the decade and functioned without office or staff until 1921.

In Texas, the mayor of Austin and a professor serving as director of the University of Texas Bureau of Municipal Research and Reference conferred on the possibility of organizing a state municipal league, and a call went out to Texas cities to attend an organizing meeting November 4, 1913, in Austin. Twenty-nine officials from fourteen cities attended the first meeting of the League of Texas Municipalities. Two major purposes were identified in the constitution that was adopted: serving as an agency for cooperation among Texas cities in the practical study of municipal affairs, and holding an annual convention to discuss matters of interest to member cities. No mention was made of legislative activity. Two membership classes were created: active members, including elected and appointed municipal officials and officers of the Bureau of Municipal Research and Reference, and associate members, including chambers of commerce, civic clubs, and similar groups. The constitution provided that the individual in charge of the University's Bureau of Municipal Research and Reference would be the league's secretary-treasurer, an arrangement that lasted until 1925 when the bureau went out of existence.

Oregon and Tennessee Make Their First Starts in 1913

Oregon city officials held an organizing meeting in 1913, in conjunction with the annual University of Oregon Commonwealth Conference, and also during the time that the Pacific Northwest League of Municipalities was holding its second annual conference in Portland. The new Oregon league met again in 1914 and 1915, but whether any further meetings were held is unknown. Rosters of state leagues pub-

lished in 1914 and 1918 do not list a state municipal league in Oregon.

In Tennessee, a state municipal league organized in 1913 appeared on two rosters of state leagues published during the decade, one in 1914 and one in 1918. But records of early-day Tennessee league meetings and activities have not been located. A league appeared on rosters published in the middle and late 1930s, but the present-day Tennessee league dates its existence from 1940.

Illinois Restarts in 1914

A number of groups organized in Illinois during the decade, and at the end of the decade they all were merged into the Illinois Municipal League. Meetings of municipal officials had been held in 1898 and 1899 without formal action to form a league. Then an Illinois Mayors Association started meeting in 1906. Just before the association's third annual meeting in 1908, the City of Chicago called a different mayors conference to help the city deal with financing issues for water system improvements. Despite the Chicago organization, the Illinois Mayors Association continued to meet, and the group's eighth annual meeting in 1913 became the catalyst for organizing the Illinois Municipal League. A professor at the University of Illinois, who had attended meetings of the mayors association, urged it to reorganize as the Illinois Municipal League and invited the group to hold its next meeting at the university. The group accepted the invitation, and meeting October 14 and 15, 1914, at the University of Illinois in Urbana, folded the Illinois Mayors Association into the new Illinois Municipal League. The league accepted an offer to house the organization at the university, and the old mayors association turned its total assets of $100 over to the new Illinois Municipal League. The league also held its 1915 annual convention at the university; the eighty-one persons attending represented twenty-six municipalities. The University of Illinois professor served as league secretary for seven years.

Confusion and duplication developed again in 1917 when a different organization — the League of Illinois Municipalities — consisting primarily of municipalities in the Chicago suburbs, was organized in the northern part of the state. When Illinois Municipal League representatives attended the League of Illinois Municipalities convention, it

was recognized that the two associations had substantially similar objectives, and the two groups soon merged. In 1918, a separate Home Rule Municipal League was organized during the Illinois Municipal League's annual convention as a separate group to protest "usurpation of municipal rights in connection with regulation of public utilities and the public utilities commission." The following day, Illinois Municipal League adopted resolutions supporting home rule in control over utilities and pledging cooperation with the Home Rule Municipal League. In 1920, the new Home Rule Municipal League merged with Illinois Municipal League.

Colorado and Alabama Make Their First Starts in 1914

What was termed the first municipal conference in Colorado was held at the University of Colorado campus in Boulder on February 16-17, 1914, under auspices of the Extension Division. A new organization was formed with the mayor of Denver as president, the mayor of Fort Collins as vice president, and the director of the University Extension Division named secretary. Just how long the league functioned is unknown, but it was not listed on the 1918 roster of leagues. The present-day Colorado league dates its founding to 1923.

The *National Municipal Review* reported in April 1915 that an Alabama Municipal League had been organized, and the state was listed on the lists of leagues published in 1916, 1917, and 1918. One roster reports that the Alabama league was first organized in 1914, but details of how long it functioned are not known.

New Jersey Officials Organize League in 1915 in Trenton

The experience of several northern New Jersey cities working together to lower gas rates in a dispute with the state's Public Service Commission, plus several years of inquiry by officials in the capital, Trenton, about other state league organizing efforts, led to an initial meeting in Trenton in February 1915. The purpose of the meeting was to seek state legislation authorizing municipalities to form an organization "for joint municipal action upon questions affecting the general welfare of... municipalities." The bill was passed and signed into law in April. More organizing meetings took place in May, and at a final or-

ganizing meeting in June, fifty-one charter members adopted a league constitution and elected the Trenton mayor as the league's first president. The mayor had been instrumental in paving the way for a league by sending Trenton's tax collector to several national conventions to learn about experience in other states in organizing state municipal leagues. The league's first major legislative victory came in 1917 with adoption of the Home Rule Act granting municipalities broader power than they had ever possessed to enact ordinances and regulations. The Act is still considered one of three major sources of local government authority in New Jersey.

New Mexico Tries in 1915, Georgia in 1916, Arkansas and West Virginia in 1917, Idaho and Mississippi in 1918

Several other state leagues apparently were organized during the decade. They are listed on rosters published during the period and also in charts published later citing the date of the first effort to organize a league, but present-day leagues in these states do not have information on these earliest organizing efforts.

New Mexico is reported to have first organized a league in 1915. Georgia is reported to have held its first organizing meeting in 1916, and Arkansas is reported to have held its first meeting in 1917. One roster has West Virginia holding its first organizing meeting in 1917, but the state shows up as having a league on *American City's* 1914 roster. Idaho is reported to have made its first effort to organize a league in 1918, although there had been a North Idaho Municipal League back in 1912 when the Pacific Northwest League of Municipalities was organized. Mississippi is reported to have held its first organizing meeting "before 1918" and *National Municipal Review* reported in 1912 that Mississippi Municipal League met October 10-11, 1911, in Vicksburg, and the 1914 *American City* roster lists the clerk of Vicksburg as secretary of the Mississippi Municipal League.

A National Magazine for Leagues?

In 1912, the Iowa-based magazine published by the Iowa league director changed its name from *City Hall-Midland Municipalities* to *American Municipalities.* The publisher saw the magazine as a regional publication for leagues, as well as the publication of the League of

American Municipalities, also headquartered in Iowa. It became the official publication of not only the Iowa league but also the new League of Nebraska Municipalities when it was organized in 1910, the new League of Kansas Municipalities when it was organized also in 1910, and the League of Minnesota Municipalities when it was reorganized in 1913. *American Municipalities* carried regular columns of news from all four states, published convention programs and proceedings from all four states, and promoted membership in each of the leagues. It also carried news of state league meetings and other activities in many other states, not only in the Midwest but as far away as California, Oregon, and Virginia.

The regional focus was fairly short-lived, however, as the new leagues soon decided to publish their own magazines. By 1915, Kansas no longer considered it the official league publication, by 1916 Minnesota no longer did, and by 1917 the Nebraska league had dropped out and the League of American Municipalities had gone out of existence. The name did not change, however, and *American Municipalities* was published by the Iowa league secretary until shortly before his death in 1946.

The privately published *American City* magazine, in its January 1914 issue, launched what it said would be a new regular feature, "State and Provincial Leagues of Municipalities." The magazine stated "The fact that there are now in existence 39 such associations [this figure included twelve Canadian provincial associations] is evidence of appreciation by municipal officials of the value of cooperation between cities of the same state." The 1914 roster published by *American City* is the first known published roster of leagues.

California Named "Best League" by National Municipal League

During this decade the National Municipal League took an especially active role in state municipal league development. The league's secretary advised in the October 1912 issue of *National Municipal Review* that "two years ago a special committee of the National Municipal League gathered the reports of all the leagues of municipalities, conferences of mayors and similar organizations, and also various other information regarding the activities and history of these organizations."

"It was the opinion of the committee that the best and most effective league was the California League of Municipalities, and that it constituted the highest development of such organizations yet seen in the United States," the National Municipal League's secretary wrote. "When these organizations develop to the point where they become permanent civic organizations doing constructive work the year around, they logically become allies of the National Municipal League. In either case, the fullest cooperation between these leagues and the National Municipal League should be developed."

The secretary of the California league was a featured speaker at the 1912 National Municipal League meeting in Los Angeles and told the group that there should be a closer relationship between the National Municipal League and the various state organizations of municipal officials.

In 1913, the National Municipal League's executive committee suggested to secretaries of the state leagues of municipalities that a committee be elected to arrange a conference of league secretaries in conjunction with the 1914 meeting of the National Municipal League in Baltimore. A ballot among league secretaries resulted in the selection of the New York league secretary to chair the committee (he received the most votes), and secretaries of the Minnesota league and the Pacific Northwest League of Municipalities as the other two members (they tied for the number of votes received).

The Texas league secretary was a featured speaker at the National Municipal League's 20th annual convention in Baltimore in November, 1914. He dealt at length with a number of subjects facing newly organized leagues. On the issue of whether a state league's membership is made up of municipal officials or municipalities, he urged that a structure be developed involving a combination of both approaches, recognizing that each form had certain advantages. He discussed problems related to membership dues, urging that leagues not seek state appropriations to cover expenses but urging them to keep dues low enough to attract members. He discussed problems of getting municipalities to join state leagues, and said it would be best "if such pressure come from within the city" rather than from the outside. He suggested civic clubs

and influential individuals as likely sources of support from within the city for membership in a state league. He discussed league publications, annual conventions, and the need for conventions to include practical sessions conducted by local officials. "My own feeling," he said of league conventions, "is that one of the chief benefits to be derived from such a gathering is the interchange of personal, practical experiences, and that very little of real lasting value is taken away from the hearing of learned and lengthy disputations." He also said that the ideal arrangement for league staffing is having one person serve as both municipal reference bureau director (usually at a university) and secretary of the state league.

The National Municipal League continued to follow state league developments up until the World War. In 1916, 1917 and 1918, it published annual reports of state league developments prepared by the then New York league secretary in *National Municipal Review,* and in 1918, published the last roster of the decade listing twenty-six state municipal leagues then in existence.

The Conference on State Leagues of Municipalities

At the 1917 conference of the National Municipal League in Detroit, the report of the Committee on State Municipal Leagues (elected earlier in a ballot among league secretaries conducted by National Municipal League) was presented by the New York league's secretary, who served as chair of the three-member committee. The report recommended that a national conference of secretaries of state municipal leagues should be convened the following year — at the 1918 conference. Several league secretaries objected to delaying such a conference until 1918, and the six state municipal league secretaries at the 1917 session — those from Kansas, Minnesota, New Jersey, North Carolina, Texas, and Wisconsin — plus one city official each from the leagues in Kentucky and Virginia, held a number of impromptu workshops on state leagues. They discussed better cooperation among the state leagues, the relationship of state leagues to the National Municipal League, and state league services, activities, conventions, publications, and budgets.

The group at the 1917 meeting also agreed to form "The Conference on State Leagues of Municipalities." The New Jersey league secretary, named president of the new conference, urged the National Municipal League to hold at least one joint session between the National Municipal League and the new Conference on State Leagues of Municipalities at the National Municipal League Conference the following year. No such meeting, however, was held. The National Municipal League changed its 1918 schedule to meet jointly with other organizations primarily to discuss the war effort, and there is no record of further activity of the Conference on State Leagues of Municipalities.

National Septic Process Protective League

Legal advocacy — where state leagues serve as the vehicle for collective legal action on behalf of municipalities — appears to have chalked up its first experience during this decade.

In 1910, the Cameron Septic Tank Company began sending out claims to various municipalities throughout the country demanding payment of license fees or royalties for use of the company's patented technology on equipment used in municipal sewage treatment plants. The company sued Knoxville, Iowa, but in 1913 the U. S. Supreme Court decided that the patent in England, on which the company had relied in the Knoxville suit, had already expired, and the matter appeared settled for a while.

The company then decided on a different tack. The patent first taken out in England was on the apparatus only, so the company took out a U.S. patent for the "process" as well as the "apparatus." It sued Shelbyville, Kentucky, for patent infringement on the basis of its U.S. patent and began again to send claims for payment to municipalities throughout the country. The "process" on which the company claimed a patent involved three separate steps: "first, the sewage is run into a tank, where after a day or two, it is liquefied to a large extent by the action of certain microbes; next, the effluent from the tank is run on to a contact bed, where it is exposed to the other microbes in the air by allowing it to trickle over large pieces of broken stone, brick or coke; finally it is run upon sand filter beds, from which it is said to come out quite clear."

Even if a municipality were using only part of the technology, the company said that it had suffered patent infringement on either "apparatus" or "process." The company alleged that infringement was not limited to what are called "septic tanks" but extend "to those which employ putrefactive reduction of sewage solids, but which for purposes of evasion have been styled 'sedimentation' or 'settling tanks', as well as the more recently exploited 'Imhoff' or 'two-story Septic Tank'."

Cities in California and Iowa immediately turned to their state leagues for help. The California league created a special committee to study the issue; the committee recommended that cities resist the claims "to the limit," a position adopted by the league's board. In his communications to cities about the board's recommendation, the league director noted two examples of how cities were treating sewage. Riverside was then running its sewage into a large circular pit "in a suitable location" on the outskirts of the city. Santa Cruz was allowing its sewage to run into natural rock depressions along the banks of the San Lorenzo River near the city. The company said both of these processes infringed on their patents. In 1916, during a meeting of the League of Iowa Municipalities, the National Septic Process Protective League was formed. Officers and an executive committee were created along with a board consisting of two persons from each of several states. Board members were named from California, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, and Ohio, with the league secretary usually being one of the board members from each state and a state health official the other. A dues schedule for municipalities was adopted, ranging from $10 for municipalities under 2,000 population to $35 for municipalities over 50,000 population. The Iowa league director was named secretary-treasurer.

Before the suit against Shelbyville reached trial, the National Septic Process Protective League reached a settlement agreement with Cameron Septic Tank Company. It provided for a payment of $5,000 by the protective league to the company in exchange for the company's release of claims against all municipalities under 5,000 population who became members of the protective league. A schedule of payments for larger municipalities and those who did not become members of the protec-

tive league based on population was established in order to obtain release from any claims for patent infringement. The settlement agreement was announced in 1919, and releases from claims were processed until 1920.

World War I

World War I affected state municipal leagues in a number of ways.

The Iowa league, for example, adopted resolutions pledging full support for the war effort at its 1917 and 1918 conventions. The leagues in Illinois, Iowa, and Kansas urged municipalities to cut back on public construction in order to conserve resources needed for the war. In 1917, the Minnesota league reported to members that it had purchased a $100 bond under the first Liberty Loan program to support the war effort, and said it planned to purchase another Liberty Loan bond "if cash flow permits" to demonstrate the league's patriotism.

Early in 1918, the Kansas league executive committee adopted a series of nine recommendations to its member municipalities. It went on record as:

- urging cutbacks in paving and other public works, "thereby releasing men and money for the service of the National Government;"
- urging municipalities to set good examples through purchase of Liberty bonds with money from their various sinking funds;
- urging municipalities to place municipal property and employees in the service to the nation to the maximum extent possible;
- recommending that municipalities train their police and fire employees to assist in emergency riot control and cooperate with the federal government in suppression of sedition, treason, incendiarism and sabotage;
- urging municipalities to improve their efficiency and conserve public funds;
- urging municipalities to provide for unmet individual citizen needs and hardships resulting from the war by establishing emergency food and fuel programs;
- recommending that municipalities put forth unusual efforts to protect public health;

- recommending that cities help in every possible way to increase food production at the local community level in the campaign for war gardens and vacant lot cultivation and recommending that municipalities open all available public lands to garden cultivation, help plow land where needed, provide seeds and water at low or no cost, and enforce food control orders; and
- recommending that municipalities create city war committees or councils to coordinate local community organizations and activities in their efforts to support the war.

The Kansas league was formally commended by U. S. Treasury Secretary W. G. McAdoo, who hoped that the Kansas league's leadership "may be emulated by many other leagues like your own."

How Many Leagues Survived?

As World War I ended in 1918, and the country began reconstruction and the return to peacetime for the next two decades, several state leagues apparently had lapsed into inactivity.

How many leagues were active at the end of the decade? It's hard to say. Since records of inactive organizations are seldom kept, it is not known with certainty which leagues were still operating at what level and which were inactive at the end of the decade. The last known roster of state leagues before 1920 lists leagues in twenty-six states, and another half dozen were reported during the decade as having made efforts to organize. But only sixteen leagues now say they have been continuously active since before 1920. It appears that roughly half of the leagues organized before World War I failed to survive into the new decade that started in 1920.

State Leagues in a Changing Nation . . .
The 1910s

U. S. Population in 1910:	91,272,266
U. S. Population in 1920:	105,710,620
Per Cent Urban in 1910:	45.6
Per Cent Urban in 1920:	51.2

The

1920s

Five Lapsed Leagues Revive, Two Are Added; Leagues Organize Nationally: *Florida League of Municipalities Organizes in 1922 ... North Carolina Revives in 1922, Changes Name from Carolina Municipal Association ... Fifteen Colorado Municipalities Restart Colorado Municipal League in April 1923 in Boulder ... Ten Leagues Meet in 1924 to Launch American Municipal Association ... Oregon Cities Meet in Portland in January, 1925, to Restart League of Oregon Cities ... West Virginia, Arizona, South Dakota, Ohio, West Virginia, and Wyoming Organize but Later Lapse ... Leagues in Missouri and North Dakota Restart in 1927 ... Kentucky Officials Launch League in 1929*

The 1920-1929 decade saw new leagues successfully organized in Florida and Kentucky, new leagues organized in Arizona, Ohio, South Dakota, West Virginia, and Wyoming that did not succeed the first time around, and leagues revived successfully in Colorado, Missouri, North Carolina, North Dakota, and Oregon. By the end of the decade, leagues were operating in twenty-five states.

During this decade the state leagues succeeded on their second attempt to organize a national association. Ten leagues gathered in 1924 in Lawrence, Kansas, at the invitation of the Kansas league director, to organize the Association of State Municipal Organizations, which later became the American Municipal Association. By the end of the dec-

At State League Conventions and Conferences in the 1920s, Local Officials Were Discussing:

Experience with City Manager Government and City-County Consolidation ... Design of Municipal Landing Fields ... Zoning: Public Policy and Legal Limitations ... Municipal Sanitation: Garbage Collection and Disposal, Street Cleaning Methods ... Small Pox, Diphtheria, Scarlet Fever, Typhoid: Municipal Responsibility and Cost ... New Fire Hazards from Radio: Inadequate Wiring, Lightning Strikes ... Municipal Impacts from Increasing Use of New Automatic Sprinkler Systems ... Need for Uniformity in Traffic Regulations ... Uniformity in Location of Red Lights on Traffic Signals ... The Motor Bus as Transportation Within and Between Cities ... Municipal Regulation of Vehicles for Hire ... Municipal Regulation of Rolling Stores ... Policies and Limits on Uses of Municipal Funds for Advertising ... Municipal Pension Systems: Benefit Levels and Actuarial Soundness ... Uniform Municipal Accounting and State Laws on Budgeting ... Governmental vs. Proprietary Functions as Determinants of Municipal Liability ... Municipal Self Insurance vs. Private Insurance Coverage of Municipal Loss ... Sharing of New State Highway Revenues with Municipalities ... Special Assessments for Local Improvements as a Rising Revenue Source ... Statutory and Constitutional Provisions for Municipal Home Rule

ade, the new association had outgrown its initial part-time staffing arrangement with the Kansas league and was seeking permanent staff and headquarters; it would make its headquarters in Chicago in the early 1930s.

Most existing leagues concentrated on building membership and strengthening their financial positions. Several leagues modified their relationships with the universities that had spawned them as they built financial resources to hire their own staffs and as universities reorganized their own research bureaus and programs of assistance to local governments. Several leagues launched or expanded monthly magazines, and a major discussion developed among leagues on how to cooperate rather than compete in building advertising as an important source of non-dues revenue.

By the end of the decade, the league directors, meeting as members of American Municipal Association, had developed a set of model bylaws for state leagues that included a suggested state league dues schedule. They also drafted a suggested "Code of Standards of Correct Practice . . . for Secretaries of State Municipal Organizations." And they began what turned out to be a long-term relationship for American Municipal Association with the Spelman Fund of New York, created in 1928 in memory of Laura Spelman Rockefeller, that would last through the following decade and into the 1940s.

Florida League of Municipalities Organizes in 1922

The city manager of Tampa invited city officials from throughout the state to discuss the feasibility of organizing a Florida municipal league. Fourteen cities were represented at the 1922 meeting, which was held aboard a pleasure boat in Tampa Bay. By the time the boat docked again, the Florida League of Municipalities had been organized. The attending city officials agreed to establish a program of legislative advocacy, to provide an organization for municipal cooperation, and to meet regularly in order to exchange ideas and experiences. For the first few years, the league operated without permanent staff or office, but in 1928, the League established its first office in Jacksonville and employed a full-time secretary. That same year it began publication of its monthly magazine, *Florida Municipal Record.*

North Carolina League Revives in 1922, Changes Its Name from Carolina Municipal Association

Efforts to restart the North Carolina league began in 1920, spearheaded by the mayor of Raleigh, and succeeded in 1922. The league had not met since 1917, due perhaps to the war but also to internal problems that had left the league's records in disarray in the custody of a former mayor who continued to serve as secretary-treasurer even after leaving municipal office. The league was unable to pay its bills. By 1920, several officials began contacting one another to see if the association was still alive. They decided to reactivate it, but when they did so in 1922, the original "Articles of Association" and other association records could not, "after diligent research," be found.

A meeting to reorganize the league was held "in the Hall of the House of Representatives" in the State Capitol in Raleigh "at 12 noon" on December 12, 1922. A first order of business was to appoint a committee to draft a new constitution and by-laws. After a recess, the committee presented its recommended constitution and by-laws, including changing the name from Carolina Municipal Association as it had been organized in 1908 to the North Carolina Municipal Association. The committee's recommendations were adopted unanimously and without debate. All sixteen municipalities represented at the meeting were named members, and a dues schedule was adopted ranging from $10 for municipalities under 5,000 population to $70 for those over 30,000 population. The Raleigh city clerk and secretary was named the new secretary-treasurer, a position he held until 1926. By that time the University of North Carolina had established its new research and information bureau, and the university professor who headed the bureau was elected secretary-treasurer of the municipal association. This arrangement continued into the early 1930s, when the league again reorganized, separated from the university and employed its own staff.

Fifteen Colorado Municipalities Restart the Colorado Municipal League in April 1923

Officials from eleven Colorado municipalities stayed on at the end of a three-day conference on municipal government at the University of Colorado in Boulder in April 1923, to organize the Colorado Municipal League. There is no indication that anyone at the meeting knew

about a similar meeting at the university in 1914 from which came reports published by the National Municipal League that Colorado had formed a state municipal league that year. Colorado was listed as having a league on rosters published in 1916 and 1917, but not in 1918.

The eleven officials attending the 1923 meeting in Boulder unanimously adopted a constitution creating the league as an agency for cooperation among cities and towns in improving municipal government. It was charged with securing enactment of beneficial legislation and opposing legislation injurious to municipalities, and directed to hold conferences for exchange of information and experience. A dues schedule ranging from $5 for municipalities under 1,000 population to $40 for cities over 50,000 population was adopted. The executive secretary of the University's Bureau of Business and Governmental Research was elected the league's secretary-treasurer. In April 1925, the league began publishing *Colorado Municipalities,* its monthly magazine. By 1929, the league had its first major legislative victory when three per cent of state gasoline tax was allocated to cities.

Twenty-five Oregon Cities Restart the League of Oregon Cities in January 1925

Officials from twenty-five cities gathered in Portland on January 24, 1925, to organize the League of Oregon Cities. The league evolved out of the annual University of Oregon Commonwealth Conferences, a series of conferences held annually beginning in 1909 and continuing through 1942. There was an attempt to organize a league in Oregon in 1913, but that earlier effort was not discussed at the 1925 Commonwealth Conference.

At the 1925 meeting in Portland, officers were elected, with an agreement that the secretary be appointed by the president. The group adopted a legislative program that included a constitutional home rule amendment for Oregon cities guaranteeing local authority, which had been enacted by statute several years earlier. A league dues schedule ranging from $10 for cities under 2,500 population to $50 for cities over 100,000 population was adopted.

West Virginia, Arizona, South Dakota, Ohio, and Wyoming Organize but Later Lapse

A report in the May 1924, issue of *National Municipal Review* notes that the West Virginia League of Municipalities was organized at a meeting in Morgantown, largely through the efforts of the then city manager of Clarksburg, who was named league president. But records of what happened afterward have not been located and the present-day league dates its founding to 1933.

1925 is listed as the date when Arizona municipalities first organized a cooperative effort, but little is known of any functioning organization until the 1930s.

A League of South Dakota Municipalities, with offices in Pierre, shows up on American Municipal Association rosters of state leagues starting in 1929, and some rosters list 1925 as the date for first organizing efforts in the state. But the present-day league dates its organization to 1934 with headquarters at the Extension Division on the University of South Dakota campus in Vermillion.

The first in a series of legal obstacles to a league in Ohio that extended over the next twenty-five years occurred with a 1925 Ohio Supreme Court decision (*State, ex. rel., Thomas v. Semple,* 112 O. S. 559). The decision prohibited payment of dues to the Ohio Municipal League, reportedly organized in 1923. An effort to resolve the issue through legislation was tried unsuccessfully at various times in the 1930s, but it was not until a 1951 court decision that the legal obstacles to paying dues to a state municipal league in Ohio were finally removed.

The city attorney of Laramie, Wyoming, believing that a league was needed in the state, called a meeting of municipal officials in 1928. He invited the University of Colorado professor who also served as secretary of the Colorado league to attend and discuss how the Colorado league had been organized a few years earlier. A League of Wyoming Municipalities was formed, and the Laramie city attorney agreed to serve as secretary without compensation. The group did not establish a dues schedule for members, and officers covered their own expenses to board meetings. The league, having no budget, did not join the Ameri-

can Municipal Association, and it continued to operate informally in this fashion until the 1940s.

Ten Leagues Launch the American Municipal Association in 1924

Meanwhile, also in 1924, the board of the League of Kansas Municipalities authorized the Kansas league secretary to host a meeting of state municipal league secretaries for purposes of exchanging information and ideas on league organization and operations and exploring possibilities for a permanent organization. The group met in Lawrence, Kansas, December 12 and 13, 1924, and decided to organize the Association of State Municipal Organizations with headquarters at the League of Kansas Municipalities on the University of Kansas campus; the Kansas league secretary would serve as executive secretary. The Minnesota league secretary was named president and the Virginia league secretary vice president of the new organization. The group agreed to exchange information and publications by sending materials regularly to the secretariat in Lawrence so that regular bulletins could be sent to the leagues advising of work going on in other leagues. Later efforts of the new organization are reported below.

Leagues in Missouri and North Dakota Restart in 1927

In Missouri, a meeting of municipal officials May 24, 1927, in Columbia resulted in organization of the League of Missouri Municipalities. The secretary of the neighboring Kansas league was a featured speaker. The Extension Division of the University of Missouri agreed to serve as league secretariat, and a dues schedule ranging from $10 for municipalities under 2,000 to $150 for those over 100,000 was adopted. There are reports of a league being organized in Missouri as early as 1908 in Kansas City, and a Missouri League of Municipalities, with the secretary in Hannibal, was listed on a roster published in 1914. But there is no indication that league organizers in 1927 had any information about the earlier organizing effort or that they were reactivating an earlier organization.

In North Dakota, a small group of municipal leaders decided in 1926 that the League of North Dakota Municipalities should be reactivated to protect their communities' interests. The organization was incorpo-

rated and the Bismarck city auditor was named executive secretary, a position he held part-time while holding his city job until his death in 1953.

Kentucky Officials Launch League in 1929

The Kentucky league was organized on May 10, 1929, at a meeting of officials from twelve of the state's larger cities, including Louisville and Lexington. A major reason for organizing was to provide a municipal perspective on state legislation. The legislature had no staff to study municipal issues, and the first constitution of the league stated that one of the purposes was "to secure legislation beneficial to the municipalities of the state and the citizens thereof and to oppose legislation injurious thereto." University of Kentucky professors were interested in helping the league get organized, and the first league office was established on the University of Kentucky campus in Lexington. Less than a year later, the first issue of *Kentucky City* was published.

League Activity in the 1920s

The sixteen leagues that date their existence to before World War I dealt with a number of common issues and themes during the 1920s, many of which reflected the coming of age of automobile travel. Efforts to secure home rule authority for the first time, or clarify or strengthen municipal home rule, also occupied leagues in almost all states.

Increasing automobile use put pressure on all governments to build more streets and highways and sparked discussions of how they should be financed. Many of the earliest legislative battles for state leagues were efforts to obtain a share of state gasoline taxes and other state highway revenues as states adopted gasoline taxes and vehicle license fees as a major highway funding source. League conventions and magazines were full of articles and advertisements on the technical aspects of the road and street building boom — paving materials, street lights, traffic control devices, and the like.

Leagues also became involved in efforts to establish municipal authority to adopt and enforce traffic regulations on city streets. Model traffic codes were developed through committees of leagues in several states. The California league established the California Municipal

Traffic League in 1926, a separate organization to develop and promote adoption of a model traffic ordinance for the state. The Illinois league urged its members adopting the model ordinance to post signs at the boundaries advising motorists that the municipal traffic code was in effect.

Model ordinances on a number of other subjects were developed by committees of various state leagues, the committees frequently consisting of appropriate department heads or other technical personnel. Subjects ranged from planning and zoning to uniform building codes, street tree regulations, and pavements cuts.

In the area of municipal finance administration, many leagues in this era developed committees to promote uniform municipal accounting. Laws requiring uniform accounting were adopted in Indiana, Ohio, New Jersey and Washington, among others. A committee of the California league promoted state appropriations to the state's Department of Public Accounting so that it could assist municipalities with installing systems of accounting.

The League of Kansas Municipalities approved a system of uniform municipal accounts, and prepared and sold to municipalities various printed forms for use in accounting departments. Forms available from the Kansas league included cash receipts and cash disbursement registers, vouchers, dog tax receipt forms, poll tax receipt forms, registers of warrants, and others, as well as certain administrative forms, such as records of council proceedings, records of ordinances, applications for building permits, tourist camp permit tax forms, and notices to abate nuisances.

League-sponsored high school essay contests became popular state league activities in the latter part of the decade. Leagues in Kansas, California, Illinois, Minnesota, Colorado and Michigan established such contests. The Kansas and Minnesota leagues tied these contests into efforts to get schools to subscribe to state league magazines so that their students would be better informed about local government.

Many state leagues strengthened their organizational structures during this period. Michigan created its first full-time staff capacity twenty-nine years after its founding by working with the Bureau of

Government at the University of Michigan to establish an office on the campus and appoint the league's first full-time executive director in 1928. For a time in the 1930s, this same person served as both league and bureau director. North Carolina turned to the University of North Carolina in 1926 for staffing assistance at the university's new Bureau of Municipal Reference, an arrangement that lasted for only a few years into the early 1930s. In Texas, the university discontinued support for the Bureau of Municipal Information in 1925 and the league moved its offices from Austin to Houston. At the 1929 AMA convention, league-university relations became a topic for lively discussion when a professor from the University of Southern California asked the assembled league directors about their experiences with joint league-university operations. The California league was moving toward a major reorganization which occurred in the early 1930s. Opinions among the league directors at the AMA meeting on the efficacy of joint league-university operations were sharply divided.

Both the Texas and the Kansas leagues established ordinance codification programs in the 1920s. Only the Iowa league secretary had provided a codification service until that time. Ordinance codification as a league service expanded even further during the 1930s, boosted in some cases by federal Works Progress Administration (WPA) funds, although fewer than a dozen leagues ever operated ongoing ordinance codification programs.

As league staffs expanded and travel became easier, the notion of league field representatives, staff members who could travel to cities and discuss municipal and league issues with municipal officials, took hold. Minnesota launched such a program early in the decade, and its magazine contained detailed reports from its first field consultant starting in 1922, including descriptions of the scenery along the river where he camped out.

Most state leagues during this decade adopted similar dues schedules, usually based on population. Wisconsin, an exception, based its dues on total assessed valuation of the city or village, a feature of the Wisconsin dues formula that has continued to the present. In states where dues were based on population, minimum dues for smallest

members were low, for example $5 for Colorado, $7.50 in Minnesota, $10 for Iowa, Illinois, Kansas, North Carolina and Oregon. Dues for the largest members were $50 in Oregon, $60 in Iowa, Nebraska and Oklahoma, $70 in North Carolina, $150 in Colorado, Kansas, and Missouri, $200 in California and Texas. At the high end, New York set largest city dues at $750 and New Jersey at $1,500. This compared with the schedule in the AMA model constitution of a minimum of $7.50 and a maximum of $100.

In a novel twist, the Oregon cities of Astoria and LaGrande were listed in 1926 as associate members of the League of California Municipalities.

In the 1920s, several leagues began concentrating on advertising in their magazines as a potential for revenue as well as a communications device. This led to extensive discussions at AMA meetings for several years on possibilities for leagues to cooperate on magazine advertising.

American Municipal Association Gets Under Way

After organizing in 1924 in Lawrence, Kansas, the new Association of American Municipal Organizations held its second conference in December 1925, in Chicago, at which time it changed its name to American Municipal Association.

At its 1926 meeting, the new organization set up a two-member committee, consisting of the Illinois and Iowa league secretaries, to draft a Code of Ethics to be submitted to the 1927 convention. The "Code of Standards of Correct Practice of the American Municipal Association for Secretaries of State Municipal Organizations" contained several sections, including:

- Membership: the secretary is responsible for maintaining and increasing membership;
- Editing: in the league's magazine, the secretary "should be fearless in presenting the whole truth and in exposing violations of social justice";
- Advertising: "In securing advertising..., the secretary should be scrupulously fair to other state municipal organizations, never resorting to underhand methods";

- Legislation: "...the Secretary should always keep in mind that he is in reality working for the happiness and welfare particularly of the people of cities, and not merely to increase the power of local authorities without regard to whether such increase is contrary to the welfare of urban inhabitants".

The General Section of the code provided four guidelines:

- "The position of Secretary of a State Municipal Organization is an important position and an honorable position and should not be accepted unless the individual believes he can serve the municipalities of his state to their advantage."
- "Credit for accomplishments should go to the organization rather than to the secretary."
- "Opportunity for service rather than desire for remuneration should be the Secretary's impelling motive."
- "The Secretary of a State Municipal Organization is a quasi-public official. He should be forward looking and recognize his constant responsibility to the public."

In 1927, a committee on State League Promotion, consisting of secretaries of leagues in California, Colorado, and Florida, was created. No record of any committee activities has been located.

In 1928, a committee to draft a model constitution for state municipal leagues was created, chaired by the Illinois league secretary, with the Kansas and Minnesota secretaries as members. The committee brought back to the 1929 convention a draft containing provisions based on most state league constitutions then in effect. It provided for league membership by municipality rather than individual municipal officials, and stated the four objectives of a league as cooperation among municipalities, promoting best practices through holding of conventions, collection and dissemination of information, and securing beneficial legislation and opposing injurious legislation. A suggested dues schedule based on population was included, with dues ranging from $7.50 annually for municipalities under 250 population to $100 annually for those over 150,000 population. It provided for officers, trustees, and an executive secretary who "shall have active charge of the affairs of the league," and directed the executive secretary to establish a Bureau of Municipal Information either independently or through contract or

agreement with one already established. Delegates at the 1929 convention failed to approve the draft, and the committee agreed to do further work and submit it to league secretaries for more review and comment. Whether it was ever finally adopted is not known.

The AMA also agreed to start furnishing quarterly reports on state league activities to the National Municipal League. And at the 1928 convention, league secretaries discussed whether the Municipal Administration Service that had been set up in New York City could help answer inquiries from state leagues, and what its proper relationship with AMA might be.

How to cooperate on advertising was a major topic at AMA's 1928 convention. Proposals ranged from having one sales representative sell advertising for several state league magazines to having jointly-prepared advertising copy go into several magazines. One proposal had leagues turning their circulation lists over to *American City* magazine, which would serve all leagues and expand the magazine's circulation more than fourfold if all leagues participated. Leagues in return would receive shares of stock in and revenues from American City Corporation. The discussion of magazine advertising extended well into the 1930s.

In 1929, AMA adopted its own dues schedule. Annual dues for a league with its own member dues totaling less than $1,000 were set at $15; annual dues for leagues with dues income greater than $1,000, $15, plus $5 for each additional $1,000 of dues income or fraction thereof up to a maximum of $50 per year for any one league. Total annual dues income to AMA was estimated at $555 if all members paid.

State Leagues in a Changing Nation . . .
The 1920s

U. S. Population in 1920:	105,710,620
U. S. Population in 1930:	122,775,046
Per Cent Urban in 1920:	51.2
Per Cent Urban in 1930:	56.1

secretariat arrangement as the Kansas league executive secretary advised that he wished to be relieved of his responsibilities for AMA staffing.

State league growth was fairly modest during the decade. Two states — Florida and Kentucky — launched leagues that became permanent. Five states — Colorado, Missouri, North Carolina, North Dakota, and Oregon — re-started their leagues; they have operated continuously to the present day. Five states — Arizona, Ohio, South Dakota, West Virginia, and Wyoming — attempted to get leagues going, but these were not permanently established until later.

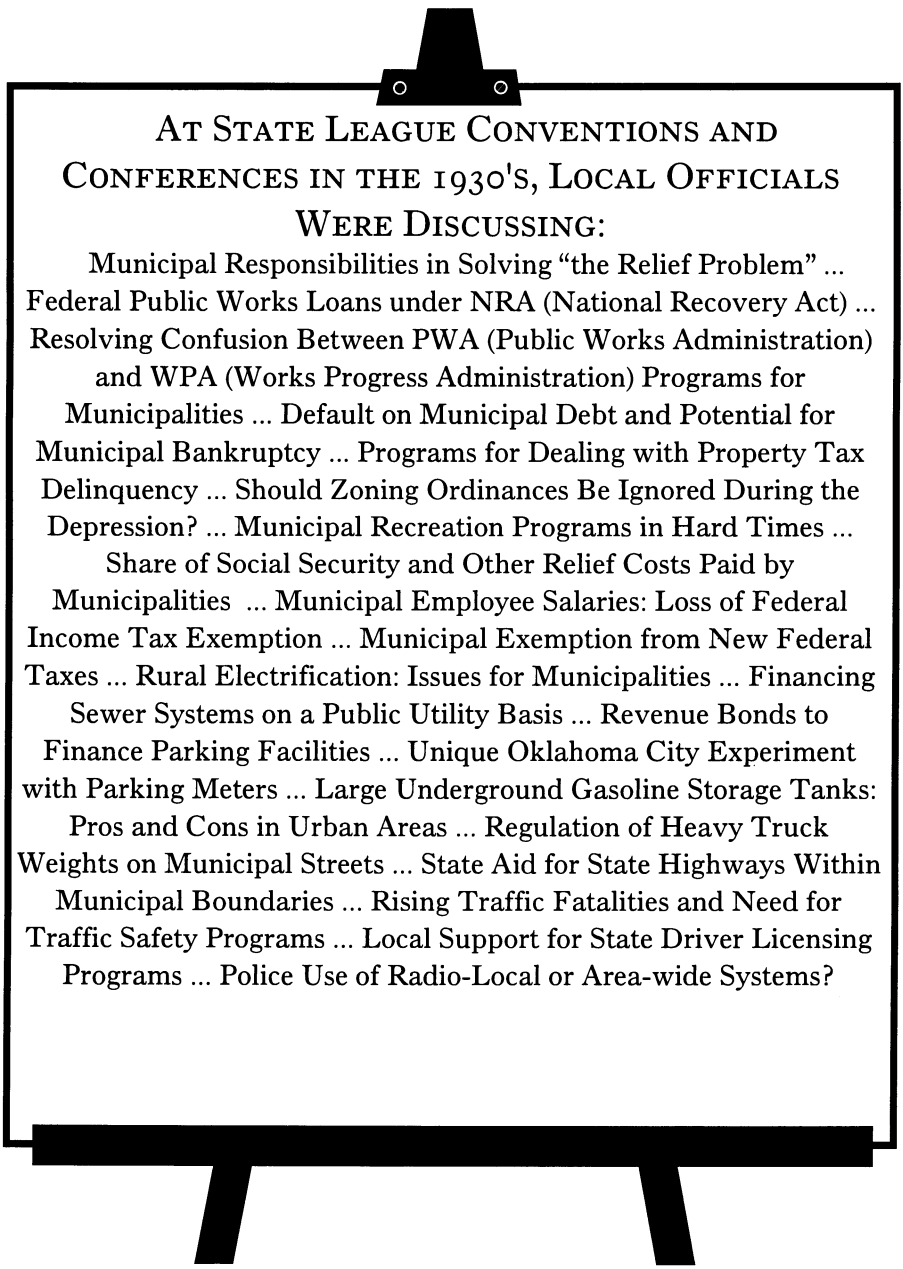
And the nation was on the verge of the stock market crash of 1929 that ushered in the Great Depression of the 1930s, the decade that would also see a surge in growth of state municipal leagues.

The

1930s

The Second Boom Occurs During the Depression, Mostly in the South and West: *Alabama Restarts League in 1930 ... Ohio Tries Organizing in 1930 but Continues Struggles with Legal Obstacles ... Mississippi Officials Restart League in 1931 ... Arizona Officials Restart League in 1932 ... Montana Restarts League in 1932 ... American Municipal Association Field Representative Grants Boost Leagues ... Washington Restarts League with Yakima Meeting in 1933 ... Georgia Municipalities Meet in Macon in 1933 to Organize League ... Arkansas Officials Meet in Little Rock in 1934 to Launch League ... South Dakota Restarts League in 1935 ... West Virginia Officials Restart League in 1935 ... Federal George-Deen Act in 1936 Provides Funds to Leagues for Training ... Organizing Activity Occurs in Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont in mid-1930s ... Maine Officials Launch First New England League in 1936 ... Maryland Officials Make First Organizing Effort in 1936 ... Louisiana Officials Are Successful in 1937 ... Federal WPA Funds Support Startup of Codification Service by Several Leagues ... South Carolina Officials Organize League in 1939.*

As the country worked its way through the Great Depression in the 1930s, the number of state leagues grew dramatically as did the numbers of municipalities joining state leagues, even while struggling with meager financial resources.



At State League Conventions and Conferences in the 1930's, Local Officials Were Discussing:

Municipal Responsibilities in Solving "the Relief Problem" ... Federal Public Works Loans under NRA (National Recovery Act) ... Resolving Confusion Between PWA (Public Works Administration) and WPA (Works Progress Administration) Programs for Municipalities ... Default on Municipal Debt and Potential for Municipal Bankruptcy ... Programs for Dealing with Property Tax Delinquency ... Should Zoning Ordinances Be Ignored During the Depression? ... Municipal Recreation Programs in Hard Times ... Share of Social Security and Other Relief Costs Paid by Municipalities ... Municipal Employee Salaries: Loss of Federal Income Tax Exemption ... Municipal Exemption from New Federal Taxes ... Rural Electrification: Issues for Municipalities ... Financing Sewer Systems on a Public Utility Basis ... Revenue Bonds to Finance Parking Facilities ... Unique Oklahoma City Experiment with Parking Meters ... Large Underground Gasoline Storage Tanks: Pros and Cons in Urban Areas ... Regulation of Heavy Truck Weights on Municipal Streets ... State Aid for State Highways Within Municipal Boundaries ... Rising Traffic Fatalities and Need for Traffic Safety Programs ... Local Support for State Driver Licensing Programs ... Police Use of Radio-Local or Area-wide Systems?

The 1930-1939 decade opened with the American Municipal Association (AMA) reporting that leagues existed in twenty-five states, although some were considered part time or inactive. That number grew by almost 60 per cent by the end of the decade, when leagues were identified in forty-two states. The total numbers of municipalities who were members of state leagues grew from 4,400 in 1930 to 7,700 in 1939.

The American Municipal Association, with substantial financial support initially from the Rockefeller Fund and later from the Spelman Fund of New York, established a network of field representatives, housing most of them in state leagues (where leagues existed) and providing grants to the leagues for salaries and expenses of the field representatives (or field "men," as they were called). In several cases, an AMA grant enabled a league to employ its first full-time staff member, and several of those hired as field representatives under Spelman grants later became league executive secretaries or executive directors (as in North Carolina, Alabama, and Washington).

The American Municipal Association reorganized and expanded its own staff capability, with Spelman Fund support, by moving its headquarters from Lawrence, Kansas, to Chicago and joining with a number of national associations of local officials in a headquarters building on the University of Chicago campus. AMA also helped mayors of major cities establish the U.S. Conference of Mayors to give them a lobbying presence in Washington as the federal government developed new depression-stimulated assistance programs.

State leagues assumed the role of information source on the new federal programs for municipalities and participated directly in two programs. The federal George-Deen Act supported vocational and technical training, and a number of leagues (for example, Arkansas, Colorado, Michigan, Virginia) received funds under this legislation to help with their training programs. The Works Progress Administration (WPA), which financed a broad range of activities throughout the public sector, provided funds that enabled some leagues (such as Arkansas, Kentucky, Montana, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oregon, Utah) to establish ordinance codification programs and other assistance to municipalities with record-keeping and administration.

Repeating a pattern of the 1910-1919 decade, state universities assisted with the startup of several new leagues. Many of the leagues organized in the 1930s were initially housed on university campuses. A university professor who headed the municipal research bureau or a university extension staff member served as league secretary or executive secretary (for example, Arkansas, Oregon, South Dakota, Washington). At the same time, two of the older leagues — Kansas and Michigan — moved away from integrated university operations, establishing their own offices and employing their own full-time staffs to replace earlier arrangements involving joint league-university personnel, research libraries and other facilities. The California league underwent major reorganization in 1932, during which time the membership was split over the relative roles of elected officials vis-à-vis administrative officials and whether to move league offices from San Francisco to a university setting in the Los Angeles area. State league relationships with universities were a lively topic for discussions among leagues during the 1930s, with supporters and detractors on each side of the issue.

Alabama Restarts League in 1930

Alabama was the first state to organize a league successfully during the decade. An earlier effort to sustain a league, organized in 1914, had not lasted. An Alabama Association of Mayors and City Commissioners, organized in 1926 but functioning largely as a social club, agreed in 1929 to reorganize themselves as a statewide organization of municipal governments, not municipal officials. The vision when they met in 1930 to approve the new organization was that it be a fully-staffed, independent organization. The economic depression delayed staffing until 1935, when the first staff person was hired using an American Municipal Association grant from Spelman Fund resources.

Ohio Tries Organizing in 1930 but Legal Struggles Continue

A league had existed from 1912 to 1918 in Ohio, where an attempt to restart the league in 1923 had been blocked by a court decision. An Ohio State University professor who had been active with leagues in Kansas and Minnesota called a meeting June 20, 1930, in Columbus, to try once more to organize an Ohio league. It was noted that Ohio was

one of the few populous states without a league at that time. The Ohio State University president promised support, and the Michigan league director was brought in as a guest speaker to describe success of the Michigan league. The mayor of Toledo was elected president of the new organization and the university professor named secretary.

AMA supported the Ohio effort by stationing a field consultant in Columbus in 1932 as part of its new network of field consultants. But the 1925 Ohio Supreme Court decision prohibiting payment of dues to a state league remained an obstacle. Legislation authorizing dues payments was several times proposed to the Ohio General Assembly and finally passed in 1937, only to be vetoed by the governor. AMA discontinued support for a field consultant as its network was cut back to states where prospects for a successful league seemed brightest. Ohio prospects did not seem good. Nevertheless, an Ohio league appeared on state league rosters through the 1930s and 1940s, albeit in the "Nominal or Part-Time" category of leagues, right up until 1951 when the Ohio Supreme Court reversed the 1925 decision and thus removed the prohibition on payment of dues to the league. It was not until 1952 that the Ohio league was able to reorganize and hire its first full-time director.

Mississippi Officials Restart League in 1931

A small group of Mississippi local officials decided in 1931 that they needed an organization to pool their knowledge and launched Mississippi Municipal Association. A municipal organization was reported functioning in Mississippi in 1914, but had lapsed into inactivity by 1918 and apparently no effort had been made in the intervening years to organize a state municipal league.

Arizona Officials Restart League in 1932

An Arizona Municipal League is reported to have been first organized in 1932, operating from the Phoenix City Hall and staffed out of the city engineer's office, but apparently there was little activity during the first three years. An effort to develop the league further occurred during a meeting in Tucson November 29 and 30, 1935, when a committee was established to present an organizational and financial plan

for the new league, and another committee was appointed to request recognition by the American Municipal Association and AMA financial assistance for a staff person. The league asked *Western City* magazine to extend coverage to Arizona as it was already doing for Oregon and Washington. The Arizona league continued to hold two meetings a year, staff was provided by the city of Phoenix, and the league's mailing address was Phoenix City Hall. A newsletter was launched, which in 1939 was expanded into a magazine *Arizona Municipalities,* although the magazine was discontinued in 1941 and *Western City* again became the league's official publication.

Montana Restarts League in 1932

The first attempts to organize a Montana league occurred in 1910, and a league was reported functioning in 1918, but there seem to be no records of its activities. At a meeting in Helena in 1932, Montana city officials made a third, and successful effort to launch an organization. The organization was first known as the Montana City Government and Welfare Association, but in 1936 the name was changed to Montana Municipal League during the group's annual convention in Billings in July. At first, the secretary-treasurer position was filled by various aldermen from the city of Anaconda, a practice that continued until 1951 when the league hired its first full time executive director. The league concentrated primarily on legislation during the early years, although AMA reports that the league did establish a codification service in 1939.

Washington Restarts League with Yakima Meeting in 1933

The repeal of prohibition at the national level and the involvement of states and local governments in liquor control led the mayor of Yakima to call a meeting on October 26, 1933, to organize a united municipal position on liquor control at an upcoming special session of the Washington legislature. The new Association of Washington Cities was founded at this meeting (a league had previously functioned from 1910 to 1916). At about this time, the Oregon league secretary advised that American Municipal Association would be willing to allocate Spelman Fund resources for a field consultant to provide staff services in both

Washington and Oregon. Further discussion resulted in agreement that each state needed its own field consultant, and AMA made a grant that enabled Washington to employ the league's first staff member. The University of Washington had recently decided to establish a Bureau of Governmental Research in its political science department, and the director of the new bureau was also named league executive secretary. The league and the bureau functioned as essentially a single activity until 1939, when the league named a full-time executive secretary and the University named a full-time director for the bureau.

Georgia Municipalities Meet in 1933 to Organize League

Proposed legislation that would have drastically limited local taxing powers to the point that many Georgia municipalities would have become insolvent galvanized Georgia local officials into action in 1933. The mayor of Atlanta called a meeting, held in Macon, and attended by representatives from thirty-five municipalities. The bill was defeated, and the municipal officials decided as a result of their collective victory to organize the Georgia Municipal Association. Fifty-six municipalities signed up as charter members, and a full-time executive secretary was appointed. This was the start of the present-day league, although there are reports of an earlier organization. A League of Georgia Municipalities apparently functioned shortly after the turn of the century, as evidenced by a copy of the "programme" for the Fifth Annual Convention June 13 and 14, 1906, but other records of that organization have not been located. Another report indicates that Georgia organized a league in 1916, although none of the rosters of leagues published by *American City* and National Municipal League between 1914 and 1918 indicates a league in Georgia. But the 1933 meeting in Macon produced the organization that has functioned continuously to the present day.

West Virginia Officials Restart League in 1933

A property tax limitation amendment and a resulting court decision upholding it prompted an informal West Virginia State Municipalities Conference at Charleston City Hall on March 17, 1933, chaired by the mayor of Keyser, and attended by representatives of twenty-two mu-

nicipalities. The group concluded that the court decision was unfair to municipalities because there was no one to plead their side of the case. A group of mayors was dispatched to meet with the governor about the problem, and it returned to report to the rest of the group that that the governor was sympathetic and asked for their help in developing a legislative solution for a special session of the legislature. As they discussed how to get legislation prepared using volunteer efforts of city attorneys, the group decided it needed to be more formally organized, and included in its resolution to the governor both a request for a legislative solution on the property tax issue and a request for the governor to put in his legislative call authority for municipalities to create and pay funds to support a state organization of municipalities. The league proceeded to organize formally in 1935, although the requested legislation authorizing dues to the league was not passed until 1945.

Arkansas Officials Meet in 1934 to Launch League

Arkansas municipal officials met at the Marion Hotel in Little Rock on June 6, 1934, to organize the Arkansas Municipal League. The first executive director was an associate professor of political science at the University of Arkansas in Fayetteville, and the University Extension Division provided office space and clerical assistance. The league also soon set up a Little Rock office and employed a field representative. The league's first dues schedule called for a minimum of $5 and a maximum of $100. The league issued its first magazine, known then as *Arkansas Municipalities,* in 1935 . By 1937, the role of the two offices switched. The Little Rock office became the headquarters and the field representative was named executive director; the office on the University campus was dedicated to research.

South Dakota Restarts League in 1935

Efforts to organize a state league in South Dakota were stimulated by the American Municipal Association as part of the state league field consultant program with support from the Spelman Fund. AMA contacted the director of the extension division at the University of South Dakota to see if the university would be interested in helping a league get started, or restarted, and the university advised that it would indeed

be interested. Some unsuccessful efforts had been made in the mid-1920s to organize a South Dakota league, and an Association of South Dakota City Commissioners had been reported as early as 1914. A meeting was held in Huron in June 1934, with representatives of the League of Minnesota Municipalities and the American Municipal Association in attendance to lend support and provide information on leagues elsewhere. A nine-article league constitution was adopted and the league was officially launched. The Director of Extension at the university was named league secretary and monthly magazine editor.

A New Mexico League Appears in 1934

A state league was reported in existence in New Mexico in 1934, operating from the Albuquerque City Hall with the city manager serving as secretary. A league (listed in the part-time or nominal category) appeared on rosters published in from 1934 to 1942. The present-day league, however, traces its startup from 1958.

Organizing in Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Vermont in the mid-1930s

The AMA field representative program also caused a flurry of interest in New England in the mid-1930s, but only in Maine was the effort successful at that time.

There are reports that a league was organized in Connecticut in 1932, and AMA reported existence of the Connecticut League of Municipalities as early as 1933, saying it was "exceedingly active" on legislative matters. Connecticut had also been listed on rosters of state municipal leagues published in 1914 and 1918. In the early 1930s, AMA reported it was providing for a field consultant in an effort to stimulate the league, but in 1935 it reported that little interest was shown in raising local resources to maintain a league. AMA discontinued its field agent program in Connecticut in 1936. Connecticut was listed on rosters of leagues from 1937 to 1941, but a report at the end of the decade said the secretary had resigned in July 1939, and the business of the league "appears at a standstill." Early in the 1960s, efforts were made again to organize a league in Connecticut, but the present-day Connecticut league was not organized until 1966.

In Massachusetts, the Mayors Club of Massachusetts was reported by AMA in 1934 to be functioning very much like a state municipal league. An organizing meeting was reportedly held in Boston in February 1934, with initial staffing provided at the Department of Government at Harvard University. Legislation authorizing dues payments was proposed, but was not successful, and the state was not listed as having a functioning league after 1935 until the Massachusetts Municipal Association was organized in 1961.

Also in New England, AMA's field agent operating out of Boston reported plans for meeting with officials in Vermont in 1932 and New Hampshire in 1934 where interest had been expressed in organizing a state municipal league. AMA reported earmarking a field agent grant to New Hampshire if further interest should develop. But leagues were not organized successfully in those two states until 1941 in New Hampshire and 1967 in Vermont.

Maine Officials Launch First New England League in 1936

On November 8, 1936, Maine became the first state in New England to organize a league of municipalities that has continuously operated to the present day. The new organization grew out of two earlier associations of individual officials, the Maine Assessors Association dating from 1916, and the Maine Municipal Officers Association organized in 1931. The two groups consolidated in 1932, and by 1935 had agreed upon the need to form an association of municipalities and upon the name of Maine Municipal Association. The first staff member was the then-field consultant of Kentucky Municipal League, paid partly by an AMA Spelman Fund grant, and the Maine league office was in Hallowell city hall during the first year. The association soon moved out of city hall into its own offices, and in 1939, replaced its monthly newsletter with a new magazine, *New England Townsman,* which the league said would cover events of municipal interest throughout New England.

Maryland Officials Make First Organizing Effort in 1936

Just before Maine's organizing meeting, the mayor of Annapolis, Maryland, hosted a meeting in October 1936, to organize the Mary-

land League of Municipalities with the immediate goal of obtaining a share of the state's Works Progress Administration (WPA) funds. The league was successful in obtaining a share of funds, and set about adopting the league's first constitution and bylaws at a meeting in January 1937. The league became inactive in 1940, however, and because of World War II and the limits on travel, was not restarted successfully until 1948.

Louisiana Officials are Successful in 1937

In Louisiana, a small group of city officials met in Alexandria on October 5, 1937, to revive an earlier effort to organize a municipal association. League organizing activity was first reported in Louisiana in 1915, and a Louisiana Conference of Mayors functioned from 1926 to 1929. A constitution and bylaws were adopted at the 1937 meeting, officers were elected, and a secretary-treasurer named. *Louisiana Municipal Review* was launched as the league official publication the following year, and in 1939, the group changed its name to Louisiana Conference of Mayors and Municipal Officials so that all municipal officials could participate. In 1941, the organization raised dues, hired a full-time executive secretary, and changed its name to Louisiana Municipal Association. The executive secretary soon left to join the staff of Louisiana State University with the Bureau of Government Research, so the association employed a separate executive secretary while retaining the Bureau of Government Research staff member as magazine editor and for research activities. This arrangement lasted for only another two years, and the association later named a mayor as executive vice president to oversee association activities. The league functioned without a full time executive secretary until 1961.

South Carolina Officials Organize League in 1939

The first efforts to organize a South Carolina were reported as early as 1924, and mayors began meeting together as an association of mayors as early as 1929, but the association functioned more as a social group that hired a part-time lobbyist to represent primarily the four largest cities during legislative sessions. By 1939, the mayors decided they should reorganize as a municipal association with a full-time staff,

and thirty-three municipalities joined in the November 1939 organizational meeting. A full-time secretary was on board less than a month later, and the new association held its first annual convention in February, 1940.

Thus the decade concluded with league organizing activity having occurred in seventeen states, and fourteen states having been added to the roster of organized and functioning leagues. The total number of states listed on American Municipal Association's roster increased from twenty-five at the start of the decade to forty-two at the end, although nine of the forty-two were listed in the "Nominal" or "Part Time" category.

With organization of new leagues as a backdrop, a variety of other important events occurred during the decade that involved both the older and the newer leagues.

The American Municipal Association in the 1930s

The American Municipal Association, as the national association of state municipal leagues, reorganized and launched a number of initiatives during the 1930s.

By the start of the decade, AMA had outgrown its part-time staffing arrangement with the League of Kansas Municipalities in Lawrence and decided to locate its headquarters along with those of several other national governmental associations in Chicago near the University of Chicago campus. AMA became part of what was known as "The Chicago Group" located first at 850 East 58th Street, then later relocated to the new Public Administration Clearinghouse at 1313 East 60th Street where it became known as one of the "1313 Organizations of State and Local Government." The new facility was financed by the Spelman Fund as part of the Fund's mission to improve public administration in the nation. When the AMA office was moved to Chicago, the Illinois league secretary served as interim AMA secretary until AMA hired its first full-time secretary.

Total dues from member state leagues at the time of the reorganization in 1930 amounted to less than $1,000, the maximum dues from any one league limited to $50 per year. Other resources had to be found

for AMA since the leagues were struggling with their own resource limits. Leagues did steadily increased their dues to AMA over the decade; league dues to AMA exceeded $10,000 by 1938, with the two largest state league dues payments being from California and New Jersey, each exceeding $700.

The Spelman Fund agreed to support AMA in several ways, providing funds for basic operating expenses as well as specific programs. AMA received ongoing support from the Spelman Fund throughout the 1930s, and on into the 1940s. Little wonder that AMA's executive committee in 1946 adopted a resolution of appreciation to the Spelman Fund for fifteen years of continuous support and expressed "deep appreciation...for its generosity and for its continued sympathetic interest in and support of the work of the American Municipal Association and its affiliated state leagues of municipalities." The Spelman Fund was closed in 1949.

AMA's history is documented more fully in other publications, including *The Nation's Cities: Change and Challenge,* by Patrick Healy III, Harper and Rowe, 1974.

Three initiatives launched by AMA in the 1930s are of special interest in terms of impact on state leagues, although two of the three failed to materialize. These included first, a joint national advertising program, second, a nationwide network of municipal field agents housed primarily in state leagues, and third, a municipal fire insurance company to lower fire insurance rates on municipal property. The field agent program was the most successful. The advertising program was discussed for several years, but never achieved sufficient consensus to make it successful, and the fire insurance company never got off the ground when the Spelman Fund yielded to objections of the organizer of the Public Administration Clearinghouse that the 1313 organizations should refrain from commercial activities so as not to dilute their public policy focus.

National Joint Advertising Program

At the AMA convention in Chicago, only five years after they organized, league secretaries discussed at length the possibilities for a national effort to bolster advertising in state league magazines. Supporters

of the idea felt that many firms would like to use the combined coverage of all state league magazines to advertise their products, but they were reluctant to take on the administrative details of dealing with each state individually. A single nationwide advertising solicitation on behalf of all leagues would overcome this objection and, they hoped, produce greater advertising revenues for all state league magazines. There was also hope that enough uniformity could be developed in state league magazine formats that advertisers could save money in preparing their ads, perhaps even printing a single advertising supplement to be inserted in all magazines. AMA also was interested in the possibility that such a program could produce non-dues revenues for AMA, sorely needed given the small amount of dues that state leagues were able to pay to support their national organization. And the possibility existed that AMA might launch its own national publication, supported by advertising from this joint national program.

Opponents of the idea voiced a number of objections. They were uncertain that a uniform format would prove practical, questioned whether the efficiencies and convenience for advertisers would be as great as projected, and were concerned that their best advertisers might drop league advertising altogether if confronted with pressure to participate in a more costly national program.

AMA persuaded the Spelman Fund to provide funding for the national advertising program, including $32,500 for AMA staff support for the first two years. The Spelman Fund also provided funds for a special meeting of league secretaries and publications staff to discuss the issue. No agreements were reached at the meeting, held in Lawrence, Kansas, in May, 1931. Each league wished to study the matter further. AMA continued to include the national advertising program as a major element in its regular annual requests for Spelman Fund resources, and the concept was discussed in several meetings. An important player, *Pacific Municipalities,* a privately-owned magazine published in Los Angeles that served as official publication for the California league, dropped out of any potential agreement in 1932 when it went out of business. *Pacific Municipalities* was replaced by *Western City* magazine during a major reorganization of the League of California Cities in

1932, but *Western City* expressed no particular interest in joining a national program as it went on to become a regional league magazine covering league activities in Oregon and Washington and later in Arizona by the end of the decade.

The leagues' failure to agree on a national joint advertising program was communicated by AMA to the Spelman Fund in November 1932, and Spelman Fund financial support for an implementation plan was withdrawn. The issue languished for several years until AMA revived it in 1937, this time requesting Spelman Fund support to explore three options — an AMA national magazine, regional league magazines, or national advertising inserts for state league magazines. The Spelman Fund said no.

State League Field Agents or Consultants

The rapid expansion of depression-born federal programs in the early 1930s led to the development of AMA's field agent program, which operated through state municipal leagues where leagues existed, or was used to help with league organizing activity in states without leagues. It was undertaken in October 1933 to help the Federal government communicate information about rapidly developing new domestic assistance programs. The network of field agents was organized to provide information and assistance especially to smaller municipalities on how to initiate and operate Federal emergency programs designed to stimulate public construction and employment. AMA launched a network of thirty field consultants with funding from the Rockefeller Foundation (as distinct from the Spelman Fund), concentrating in 1933 and 1934 on Federal program information and assistance. The emphasis then shifted in 1935 and 1936 to general municipal administration. Financial support shifted from the Rockefeller Foundation to the Spelman Fund and became a matching grant program for leagues. AMA offered to pay half the salary and half the expenses of field consultants if leagues would pick up the other half. AMA grants from the Spelman Fund were supporting the league secretary's position in 1937 in Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Indiana, Maine, Missouri, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, Utah, Washington and West Virginia.

The grants proved popular, and in several cases made possible the hiring of the first full-time league staff. "This [field representative] service has become so popular that many field men [sic] are booked for weeks in advance," reported AMA in the 1937 *Municipal Year Book.* The financially stronger leagues (such as California and North Carolina) were gradually dropped from the program in favor of grants to startup leagues, and support was withdrawn where there appeared little chance of successfully organizing leagues (in Connecticut, Ohio, and West Virginia, for example). The program continued into the early 1940s, although on a reduced scale, and AMA still held out the possibility of grants to get leagues started in such states as Connecticut, New Hampshire, Ohio, and Vermont as late as 1941.

An AMA-State League Fire Insurance Company?

A third AMA potential initiative involving state leagues never got off the ground. In the late 1930s, many municipalities became concerned with the rising cost of fire insurance. State municipal leagues discussed through AMA the possibilities for dealing with the issue. Some felt that organization of a municipally-owned fire insurance company to insure municipal buildings might prove a feasible alternative to commercial fire insurance. AMA asked Spelman Fund for permission to convert unused funds from the joint national advertising project to a study of the feasibility of a fire insurance company. Spelman Fund denied the request after determining that the founder of the Public Administration Clearinghouse, Louis Brownlow, opposed any of the national associations becoming involved in commercial enterprises on grounds that it would detract from their public policy purposes and might create tension and competition among the various associations housed at the Clearinghouse.

U. S. Conference of Mayors

When it became clear in the early 1930s that the national government was depending on cities to take on major responsibility in new programs of public assistance, the large cities decided they needed a political presence in Washington as federal assistance policies were being developed. The mayor of Detroit called an organizational meeting in

his city in 1932, and the U.S. Conference of Mayors was formally established in Washington in February 1933. The American Municipal Association provided staff support to the Conference on a part time basis until 1935, when the AMA executive director resigned and became full-time director of the new mayors conference, and AMA hired a new executive director.

Leagues Develop New Programs and Services

Virtually all leagues started out by working on the same set of programs and services: state legislation; research and publications, including magazines and newsletters; and conferences, conventions, and regional meetings. The 1930s saw some state leagues branch out into new areas of service and activity beyond these basic activities.

Cooperative Purchasing: Several leagues, following the lead of the Michigan league, developed cooperative purchasing programs. Six Michigan cities decided to group their purchase of fire hose through Michigan Municipal League into a single bid in 1930, and received a low bid of 64 cents a foot, whereas the lowest bid any of the six had received individually was $1.30 per foot. The Michigan league went on to make group purchases of electric lamps, street marking paint, push brooms and antifreeze.

Fire hose also provided the impetus for establishment of North Carolina's purchasing service in 1936. Street signs were purchased through the North Carolina league in 1937. An effort to purchase typewriter ribbons and carbon paper in 1938 was unsuccessful, but in 1938 and 1939, sirens and brass goods for fire departments and traffic paint were added to the list.

State leagues in Arkansas, Colorado, Missouri, Oregon, South Dakota, Virginia, and Wisconsin also developed cooperative purchasing activity in the 1930s.

Personnel Programs: Several leagues, following the leads of California and Michigan, established personnel assistance programs. The earliest programs involved testing of applicants for various municipal positions. Minnesota established a police and fire testing service that included staff participation in oral interviews and provision of written tests.

Federal Funds Support New League Services

Two state league services — public official and employee training and ordinance codification — were given a boost in the 1930s with the first allocations of federal funds to state municipal leagues.

George-Deen Vocational Training Act

State league programs for training of various groups of municipal employees had started as early as 1928, when it was reported that the New York league was establishing comprehensive training programs for several groups of employees-police and fire, water plant operators and others. In 1935, Congress passed the George-Deen Act, which included provisions that federal vocational education funds could be used for training in "public and other service occupations." The Michigan league, for example, contracted with the state under the George-Deen Act to provide training for police and fire personnel, water and sewage plant operators, assessors, and parks employees. Arkansas reported using George-Deen Act funds for training schools for firemen, mayors, clerks, aldermen, and water and sewage plant operators. Colorado received George-Deen funds to employ a full-time itinerant fire service instructor in 1938. In Virginia, the league made use of George-Deen funds for police, fire, and waterworks training through the state department of vocational education.

Ordinance Codification and the WPA

A number of state leagues used federal Works Progress Administration (WPA) funds in the late 1930s to provide ordinance codification and other administrative services to municipalities.

In one of the largest and perhaps best documented of league WPA activities, the North Carolina league administered four WPA projects. The first was a $165,000 project to employ 175 research workers for two months to undertake a comprehensive survey and analysis "concerning government practices in every municipality in North Carolina." The second was a $236,000 project to codify existing ordinances and charters with a goal of providing this service to 150 municipalities. The league's field consultant set up a separate office with five attorneys, fifteen typists and six proofreaders. The projected staff of 60 attorneys, 120 typists, and appropriate proofreaders would assist in assembling or-

dinances and charters. The third, a $239,382 project, was to install uniform record-keeping systems in police departments in all municipalities over 2,000 population. It would employ up to 300 persons, assigning six clerks to any municipality requesting the service. The fourth, a $60,000 project authorized in the fall of 1940, was to index minutes of council meetings. It was projected to employ 30 typists and 20 abstractors. In late 1941, the four projects were consolidated into a single operation employing some 372 persons. But with the country's attention turned from depression to war, the WPA-financed program in North Carolina was "rapidly closed out" a year later in 1942.

Kentucky prepared model ordinances on street construction procedures with WPA assistance, as well as a suggested code for fifth class cities. With WPA aid, Kentucky in 1938 conducted a governmental survey on all phases of city operations but did not publish it for lack of funds.

Montana initiated an ordinance codification service with University of Montana in 1938 with WPA funds. North Dakota conducted both codification and studies of efficiency of local administration with WPA funds. In Oregon, codification of ordinances through a WPA-funded project at one point involved thirty workers in offices in three cities.

Two Magazines Go Regional as Decade Concludes

As *Western City* magazine grew to cover league activities in Arizona, Oregon and Washington (and later other states), a comparable regional approach was developed in the southern states. In June 1939, the *North Carolina Municipal News Bulletin was changed to Southern Municipal News.* It was about to become a regional publication for six other southern states; South Carolina was the first to approve the arrangement on April 20, 1939. In 1940, the magazine's name was changed again to *Southern City.*

Also during the 1930s, many leagues began developing relationships with various professional groups — city managers, finance officers, attorneys, and others — in their states. As these groups organized, many leagues took on responsibility for serving as their secretariats. California amended its bylaws to provide representation for professional and technical groups on its board of directors.

In many respects, the decade of the 1930s was the most remarkable decade of the century in terms of league growth and development. The number of leagues expanded dramatically, as did their memberships. Full-time league staffs replaced earlier part-time staffing arrangements. Leagues learned how to build their financial resources not only by raising dues but also by using outside funding sources — federal funds and foundation grants. Their basic service programs — legislation, annual meetings and conferences, and research, information, and publications — expanded to include training for a broad range of public officials and employees and providing direct assistance in a variety of areas such as codification of ordinances, personnel and cooperative purchasing.

State Leagues in a Changing Nation . . . The 1930s	
U. S. Population in 1930:	122,775,046
U. S. Population in 1940:	131,669,275
Per Cent Urban in 1930:	56.1
Per Cent Urban in 1940:	56.5

Even though several states had yet to organize their leagues by 1940, the close of the 1930s saw the interest in and scope of state municipal league activity boosted to a new plateau that in many ways set the pattern for the balance of the 20th century.

The

1940s

Activity Slows Because of World War II: *Tennessee Officials Reorganize and Restart League in 1940 ... Idaho Officials Restart League in 1941 ... New Hampshire Officials Attempt to Start League in 1941 ... Leagues Assist with National Defense Efforts ... World War II Travel Restrictions Affect League Meetings ... World War II Calls Several League Staff to Active Military Duty ... Nevada Officials First Organize League in 1944 ... Wyoming Makes Another Start in 1944 ... Maryland Officials Restart League in 1948 ... Legal Challenges Plague Leagues in Arizona, California, Illinois and Michigan*

The 1940-1949 decade was marked by nationwide attention to the war effort in the first half of the decade, and to issues of reconstruction during the second half. The rapid growth in number of leagues that marked the 1930s slowed dramatically in the 1940s. Most leagues assisted with the national defense effort in every way possible, in some cases while key staff members were called to active military duty, and concentrated on maintaining existing programs rather than starting new ones. Total membership in state leagues climbed steadily throughout the decade, and regional league magazines peaked during the decade.

State municipal leagues, in the forty-two states where they existed at the start of the war, participated in many ways in the national defense

At State League Conventions and Conferences in the 1940s Local Officials Were Discussing:

Local Government Responsibility in the National War Effort... Recruiting Auxiliary Firefighters for Possible Incendiary Attack ... Local Responsibility for Welfare and Recreation of Soldiers and Sailors Stationed in or Adjacent to Communities ... Training Public Safety Personnel to Deal with Espionage ... Coordinating Street Lighting Dim-outs Along East and West Coasts ... Keeping Water and Sewer Systems Function in Case of Attack ... Shorter, Smaller League Conventions: No Social Functions, No Single Occupancy of Convention Hotel Rooms ... Cancellation of Some League Conventions Due to Tighter Travel Restrictions ... Postwar Public Works Planning ... Municipal Preference in Disposal of Surplus War Property ... Funding New Revenue Sources for Catch-up with Construction Backlog ... Appropriate "Living" War Memorials, e.g. Auditoriums, Community Centers, Parks ... Municipal Responsibility in Critical Postwar Housing Shortage ... Rising Parking Problems: Public or Private Financing of Facilities ...Use of Zoning to Solve Municipal Parking Problems ... One-Way Streets as Method for Increasing Capacity ... Financing New Sewage Works to Meet New Pollution Control Regulations ... Municipal Revenues Threatened by Proposed Constitutional Limit on Federal Income Tax ... Rising Restaurant Use Increases Need for Local Regulation ... Municipal Responsibilities in Rising Tourism Business

effort. They assisted in communication with municipalities about various aspects of the war effort, such as regulations affecting public spending, travel, construction, categories of municipal personnel deemed essential and thus exempt from the draft. League executive secretaries in some states served on state councils on defense or other committees established to coordinate civil defense in their states. Domestic travel restrictions affected the leagues' ability to hold annual conferences and limited staff travel in the field. Some league conventions were canceled. And several leagues saw their principal staff members — executive secretaries, field consultants, attorneys, or others — called to active military duty, forcing many leagues to conduct business with reduced, temporary, or interim staff during the war years. Oregon's league director took a leave of absence to serve in the federal government during the wartime emergency. The directors of the Utah and Washington leagues took leaves of absence immediately following the war to serve as international advisers.

Few new league services were undertaken during the 1940s, and most leagues concentrated on maintaining what they already had in place. Two state leagues (Idaho and Tennessee) reorganized at the start of the decade, their earlier organizations having lapsed into inactivity. City officials in New Hampshire tried to organize in 1941, but that league was very much a part-time operation until 1957. Two other leagues — Nevada and Maryland — started up after the war, although it was not until 1959 that Nevada's league was finally in place. And in Wyoming, where the first league had become inactive, the second of three organizational attempts was made in 1944.

Leagues in four states (Arizona, California, Illinois, and Michigan) confronted legal challenges to their existence during the 1940s, replicating an issue that first occurred in Ohio in 1925, and would arise again from time to time in other states for the balance of the century.

Tennessee Officials Reorganize and Restart League in 1940

A pair of meetings early in 1940, one in central Tennessee and one in west Tennessee, produced agreement that the state's municipalities needed to reactivate "the moribund Tennessee league" as it was described in *Southern City,* and create an effective state organization to

combat harmful state legislation and secure a share of state revenues. A loose organization representing a few cities, with the state treasurer serving as secretary, had once functioned in Tennessee, but it had not been active for some time and was listed by AMA in its "Nominal or Part-Time" category of leagues. A Tennessee league had also functioned from 1913 through 1918. Supporters of the 1940 reorganization effort decided to hold a third regional meeting in east Tennessee; if there was also interest there, representatives of the three sections of the state would convene in Nashville to take the necessary steps to reorganize. The eastern meeting produced a similar show of interest, the organizing meeting was held June 24, 1940, a second meeting to ratify the organizing committee actions was held on July 11, and the league hired its first full-time executive secretary in September 1940.

New Hampshire Officials Attempt to Start League in 1941

New Hampshire organized its state municipal league at a meeting in February 1941, with the executive secretary of the University of New Hampshire's Bureau of Government Research serving as league executive secretary. It was headquartered in Durham, home of the university. Most activity centered on meetings to discuss experiences and exchange ideas. It remained a part-time league until 1957, when the league hired its first full-time executive secretary.

Idaho Officials Restart League in 1941

The Idaho Municipal Officers Association, which had functioned during the 1930s as an association of individuals, was reorganized as the Idaho Municipal League late in 1941. There had been some efforts to organize a league in Idaho before World War I, but little information remains about that effort. During the 1941 reorganization, the executive secretary of the neighboring Utah league met with interested Idaho officials and agreed to serve as acting Idaho league secretary during the reorganization period. A new dues schedule to support an expanded program of services was developed during the following year, but by the time the league met early in 1943, the decision was made to cut back dues and reduce operations to a limited part-time basis because of the war. Activity was limited to meetings and legislation.

Nevada Officials First Organize League in 1944

The first attempt to organize a Nevada league occurred in 1944, when several mayors, who had been meeting informally on various occasions, decided that a more formal organization was needed. The mayor of Reno was picked to chair the organization, and the Reno city attorney named league secretary. Just how active the group was and for how long is not known. A second effort to organize a league occurred in 1951, with the mayor of Carson City named president and the mayor of Sparks named secretary-treasurer. The league was carried on AMA's rosters in the "Part Time" category of leagues. The Nevada Municipal Association was formally incorporated in October 1959, and renamed Nevada League of Cities in 1974.

Wyoming Makes Another Start in 1944

With the Wyoming league that had been organized in 1928 and staffed on a volunteer part time basis by the Laramie city attorney no longer active, the mayor of Casper, Wyoming, called a meeting in January 1944, in his city. This time a former city manager in South Dakota (and one-time South Dakota league president) was the featured speaker on how to organize a successful league. In 1945, the new league drafted a legislative program directed primarily at new revenues for municipalities and achieved limited success in the following legislative session. In 1948, the league entered into an agreement with the University of Wyoming for staff services through its Adult Education Community Services program. The league again pushed for new revenues and succeeded in obtaining a state cigarette tax for municipalities at the 1951 session. But municipal official interest declined after the success of the 1951 session, and the league again slipped into inactivity.

Maryland Officials Restart League in 1948

The first effort to organize a Maryland league in 1936 produced an organization that was listed in AMA's category of "Nominal or Part-Time" leagues up until 1946, but little is known of any activity during that period, and that league is considered to have become inactive by 1940. In September 1948, representatives of sixteen Maryland municipalities met in College Park with the director of the University of Maryland's Bureau of Public Administration to reactivate the league.

The director of the university's Bureau of Public Administration was designated as executive secretary of the league, although the commitment was part-time and his primary responsibilities were as a university faculty member. The newly reorganized league immediately began publishing a newsletter, *Maryland Municipal News,* and the membership grew from eleven in 1948 to seventy in 1950. By 1952, when the league was able to pay half the salary of the executive secretary, it became a full-time league position with the university contributing the other half of the salary.

Pioneer in the Initiative Process

During the 1940s, the Arizona league pioneered the use of the initiative process to attain legislative goals. But the league's success with an aggressive effort to obtain a share of state funds for municipalities through the initiative process almost became the source of its demise.

In 1942, the league sought a share of both state sales taxes and state gasoline taxes for municipalities and succeeded with an initiative measure, approved by voters in 1942, that allocated 10 per cent of sales tax collections to municipalities. This led to a court suit by angered league opponents, who challenged payment of dues to the league. The Arizona Supreme Court upheld a lower court decision prohibiting municipalities from contributing dues to the league. The league did manage to survive, however, and again used the initiative process to secure passage of an initiative in 1946 that allocated a share of gasoline tax revenues to municipalities.

The legal obstacle to payment of dues was not removed until 1948, when another court decision reversed the earlier decision; it included, however, a qualification that the league must adhere to the purposes stated in the league's constitution. The league, after the earlier court decision, had amended its constitution to drop reference to securing beneficial legislation and opposing legislation injurious to cities as one of its purposes. The 1948 court decision appeared to leave open the possibility of revoking authority for cities to pay dues to the league if its legislative activity got out of hand. But the Arizona league went on to use the initiative process successfully on two more occasions in the

1960s and 1970s to increase state revenue allocations to cities and towns.

Opposition Takes Leagues to Court

Four state leagues experienced legal challenges to their existence during the 1940s. They weren't the first, however. The Ohio league had been struggling ever since 1925 because of a court decision prohibiting use of public funds for league dues, a position that was finally reversed in Ohio in 1951. Primarily because of unhappiness with league legislative activities and successes, league opponents in another four states (Arizona, California, Illinois, and Michigan) went to court in the 1940s in an effort to put leagues out of legislative business.

In Arizona, where the league had successfully used the initiative process to achieve its legislative policy goals, a suit filed against the city of Phoenix challenging payment of league dues resulted in the first Arizona court decision, *City of Phoenix v. Michael,* 61 Ariz. 238, 148 P2d 353 (1944), prohibiting Arizona cities and towns from making dues payments to the league. This prohibition was modified in a second decision *City of Glendale v. White,* 67 Ariz. 231, 194 P2d 435 (1946), when the Arizona Supreme Court reversed the previous decision on grounds that the league had removed an article of its constitution stating a league purpose was to secure beneficial legislation and oppose detrimental legislation. The court did leave open the possibility that taxpayers might seek relief "if perchance the league should get 'out of bounds' by failing to adhere to purposes for which it exists."

In Michigan, the league was forced into legislative inactivity from October 1945 to January 1947 because of a circuit court injunction. A Kalamazoo taxpayer sought an injunction to prevent the city from paying league dues apparently because of the league's opposition to minimum wage and maximum-hour legislation covering firefighters. The circuit court decision upheld the league as providing needed services for municipalities and therefore eligible to receive public funds in the form of dues payments from members, but excepted league legislative activities. The league was enjoined from advising or approaching legislators, drafting legislation and appearing before legislative committees. The league was allowed to publish its legislative bulletin. The decision was

appealed by both the city and the league, which had entered the case as an affected party, and in 1947, the Michigan Supreme Court reversed the lower court in *Hays v. Kalamazoo* (1947), 316 Mich. 443, and the injunction against league legislative activity was lifted.

In Illinois, the state supreme court, in a 1946 decision in *Bunge Brothers Coal Company et. al. v. Apelleees,* overruled a trial court that held that dues payments to the Illinois Municipal League and the U. S. Conference of Mayors were not for corporate purposes. The Supreme Court said that "It seems clear that the discussion, by mayors and other city officials, of problems affecting the well-being of their respective cities, and the study of conditions affecting taxpayers of municipalities, are public purposes — and moderate appropriations for those purposes are justified."

Two California court decisions of the 1940s upheld the expenditure of public funds for attendance at league meetings (*City of Roseville v. Tulley* (1942), 55 CA2d 601) and the payment of expenses of officials to represent a city's interest in legislation (*Powell v. City & County of San Francisco* (1944) 62 CA2d 291). They paved the way for a later decision directly upholding payment of dues to the League of California Cities in a 1971 case brought by the San Francisco Peace Officers Association and the Peace Officers Research Association of California against San Francisco and the California league.

Although the four states involved in 1940s litigation over payment of dues to leagues were neither the first nor the last, the decisions in these cases have been cited on a number of other occasions as courts have consistently upheld use of public funds for league dues.

The High Point of Regional League Magazines

Two regional league magazines were launched in the early 1940s.

In 1940, the North Carolina league expanded its own publication *Southern City* into a regional league magazine that became the official publication during the 1940s of leagues in nine states-Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. And in 1941, the Utah Municipal League launched *Inter-Mountain City,* the fifth and last of the efforts to establish a regional league magazine. It became both the Utah league's offi-

cial publication and that of the newly reorganized Idaho Municipal League. *Inter-Mountain City* later expanded its coverage to include Montana and Wyoming as well.

The first regional league publication was *American Municipalities,* and its predecessor *Midland Municipalities,* published by the Iowa league secretary starting in 1900. At one point in the 1910-1919 decade, it was official publication of leagues in Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota and Nebraska.

The other three were *Pacific Municipalities, Western City,* and *New England Townsman. Pacific Municipalities,* launched in 1909 by the secretary of the California league, was expanded in 1912 to serve as the official publication of the short-lived Pacific Northwest League of Municipalities. *Western City,* which replaced *Pacific Municipalities* in 1932 as the California league's publication, was expanded during the 1930s and 1940s to become the official publication for leagues in Arizona, Oregon, and Washington; by 1959 it had become the official league publication for eleven western states — Alaska, Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming. *New England Townsman,* published by Maine Municipal Association starting in 1939, offered itself as an information source not only for Maine municipal officials but also those in other New England states, since there were no other New England leagues active at the time.

American Municipalities was discontinued in 1946, and replaced by the Iowa-only league magazine. *Western City* reverted to a California-only publication in 1976. *New England Townsman,* while it published some information of regional interest and had some circulation in New England outside Maine, decided it was in reality a single-state magazine and was renamed *Maine Townsman* in 1948. *Southern City* reverted to a North Carolina-only publication in 1949. And *Inter-Mountain City* ceased publication in the late 1950s with *Western City* taking over coverage of all eleven western states in 1959.

State Leagues and World War II

Leagues became immediately involved in the national defense effort surrounding World War II because of their increasing effectiveness in

communications with municipalities. They distributed information on Office of Civil Defense and Office of Price Administration orders and worked to establish sound relationships between municipalities and the state civil defense councils. Leagues tracked information on rulings of the War Manpower Commission, which designated categories of municipal employees exempt from the draft because they were performing services deemed essential to the war effort. Water supply, power, and illuminating services, for example, were deemed essential, although not every person in these departments was automatically exempt from the draft, and municipal employers had to work with local Selective Service Boards to determine which individuals were essential to that service.

California's league secretary took a brief leave of absence to serve as acting director of the State Council of Defense, and then became a member of the executive committee. The Washington league loaned its field representative to the State Defense Council so that the new council would have someone thoroughly familiar with the state and its communities.

Leagues in Wisconsin, Minnesota and Oregon reported working with municipalities near large defense installations on such issues as housing, mobile home regulations, traffic, and planning and in some cases assigned field staff to work extensively in these areas. The California league developed a model anti-trespassing and anti-loitering ordinance for city use in protecting defense facilities. The Utah league director headed up the state's scrap aluminum drive. League regional meetings frequently became meetings to discuss civil defense with appropriate state and federal officials, and several leagues sponsored statewide special meetings on the defense effort. A number of leagues published defense information bulletins.

At least two leagues (Arkansas and North Carolina) saw their executive secretaries called to active military duty during World War II. The California league legal counsel and AMA's legal counsel also were called to active duty. Undoubtedly many other league executive secretaries or directors and league staff were called to active military duty during the war, with leagues operating at reduced staffing levels as a result.

State league annual conferences were usually dispensed with or postponed from 1942 to 1945 in deference to the Office of Defense Transportation ban on conventions, although necessary business meetings and regional meetings could be held, especially those relating to the war effort.

League conventions resumed in late 1945, almost immediately upon the cessation of hostilities and the lifting of travel regulations. The Utah league's experience with its 1945 convention illustrates the impact on one league of sudden changes that occurred with the end of the war. The convention had been planned several months ahead for the city of Richfield, to be conducted in accordance with wartime regulations on travel to conventions. The league received permission from the Office of Defense Transportation to hold the convention with a limitation that no more than 50 delegates would come from outside the Richfield trading area. The league thus planned for total attendance of 150. The war ended in August and restrictions on the sale of gasoline and other travel were lifted just two weeks ahead of the September convention. A joyous overflow crowd descended on Richfield, swamping the arrangements the league and the host city had made for meals and housing. The Latter Day Saints Relief Society helped respond to the crisis by preparing needed food, and spare rooms in private homes were used for convention delegates as the host mayor personally took charge of solving the housing situation. Despite the logistical problems,the convention was reported to be a success, with everyone in a festive mood following the end of the war.

Reconstruction Brings Municipal Fiscal Problems to Forefront

For the rest of the decade, league efforts switched to assisting municipalities with postwar problems of catching up with needed public facilities construction that had been deferred to help the war effort. As reconstruction proceeded, municipalities faced an increasingly serious problem of inadequate municipal revenues to meet these needs. Legislation to share state revenues with municipalities and to expand municipal revenue authority became the top priority for virtually every league starting in the late 1940s.

Despite the pressures and interruptions of the war years, or perhaps because of the need for information and cooperation during the war years, membership in state leagues climbed steadily throughout the decade. By the end of the 1940s, total membership in state leagues had climbed past the 10,000 mark to 10,300, in comparison with the 4,400 figure at the start of the decade. The largest league in terms of number of members, Iowa, accounted for 819 of that total.

AMA received a final grant from the Spelman Fund as the fund closed in 1949 to commission a study of the future of American Municipal Association including its relationship with the state municipal leagues. AMA retained a consultant, who later became the organization's executive director, to develop AMA's post-war options, which included formulating a National Municipal Policy for cities as Federal domestic assistance programs were expanded. These recommendations formed the basis for major AMA changes in the 1950s and 1960s that led to broadening membership beyond state municipal leagues to include cities, establishing a new policy process, and reorganizing the voting membership structure. The American Municipal Association changed its name to the National League of Cities in 1964.

State Leagues in a Changing Nation . . . The 1940s	
U. S. Population in 1940:	131,669,275
U. S. Population in 1950:	150,697,361
Per Cent Urban in 1940:	56.5
Per Cent Urban in 1950	
(Old Census Definition):	59
(New Census Definition):	64

Generally, league programs and services did not expand much during the decade, except for those related to the national defense effort, but most leagues continued to publish their magazines and newsletters and to conduct training for municipal officers and employees as in the past.

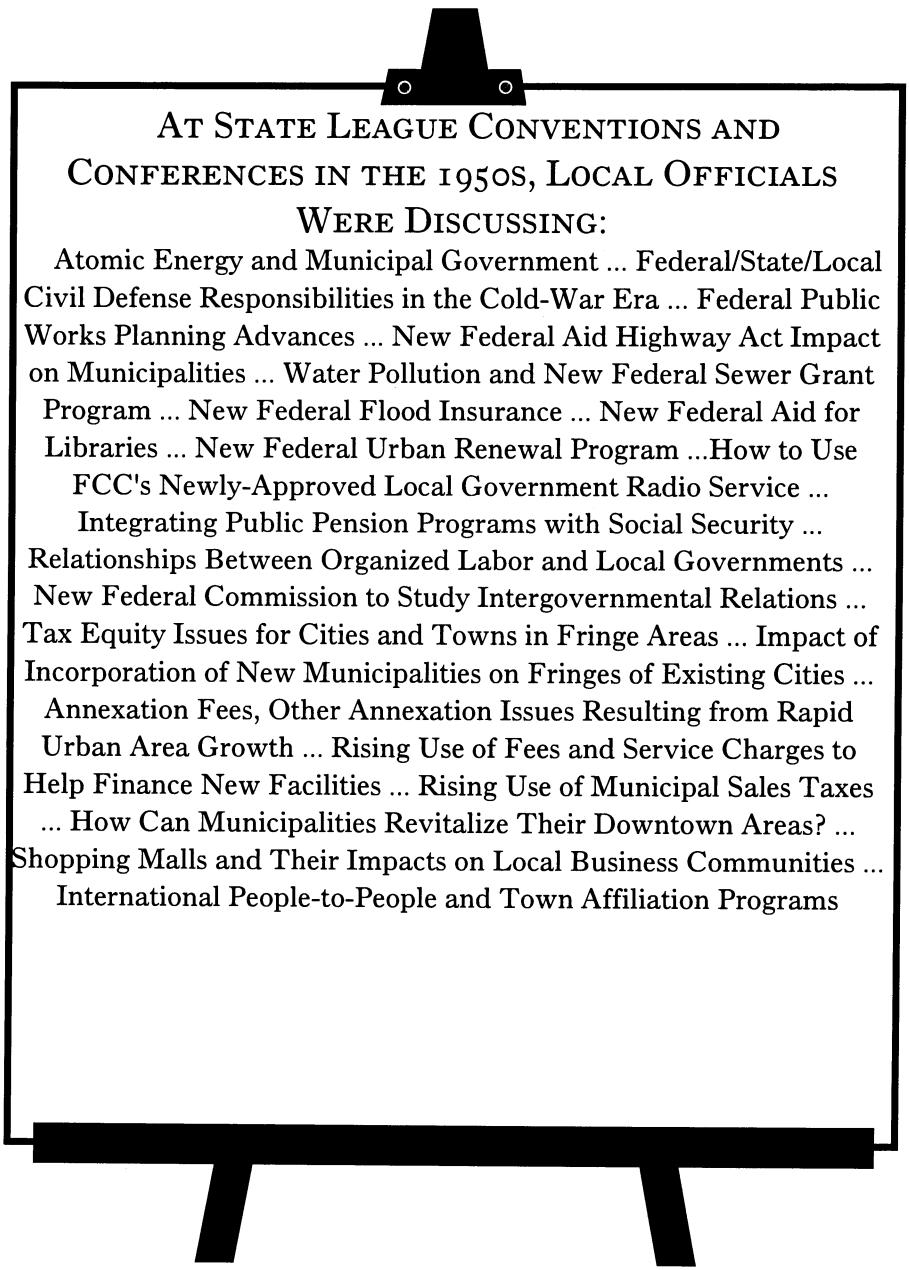
The

1950s

The Movement Spreads Again to Reach Untapped States: *Alaska Officials Organize League of Cities and Boroughs in 1950 ... Nevada Restarts League in 1950 ... Legal Challenges Lifted to Permit Ohio to Restart League in 1952 ... Wyoming Officials Restart League in 1952 ... Connecticut Makes Another Try in 1955 ... New Mexico Restarts League in 1958 ... New Hampshire Closes Down in 1959 After Dispute with Governor ... State Leagues Enter Group Health Insurance Field ... Bigger Budgets, Staffs Force Look at Leagues' Legal Status.*

With the war and reconstruction of the 1940s behind, the 1950-1959 decade saw the start of major demographic shifts in the nation that would affect municipal government for the balance of the century. The steady decline in rural population accelerated after the war, and central cities and their suburbs attracted those leaving the rural areas. New suburbs were developed adjacent to older central cities, and large numbers of middle class city residents began their exodus from central cities to the new suburbs. Central city demographics changed with the movement of large numbers of African-Americans from rural areas, primarily in southern states, to the heavy industry central cities of the northern states.

The 1950-1959 decade also saw major expansion of activity in existing state leagues. Total membership in state leagues grew from 10,800



At State League Conventions and Conferences in the 1950s, Local Officials Were Discussing:

Atomic Energy and Municipal Government ... Federal/State/Local Civil Defense Responsibilities in the Cold-War Era ... Federal Public Works Planning Advances ... New Federal Aid Highway Act Impact on Municipalities ... Water Pollution and New Federal Sewer Grant Program ... New Federal Flood Insurance ... New Federal Aid for Libraries ... New Federal Urban Renewal Program ...How to Use FCC's Newly-Approved Local Government Radio Service ... Integrating Public Pension Programs with Social Security ... Relationships Between Organized Labor and Local Governments ... New Federal Commission to Study Intergovernmental Relations ... Tax Equity Issues for Cities and Towns in Fringe Areas ... Impact of Incorporation of New Municipalities on Fringes of Existing Cities ... Annexation Fees, Other Annexation Issues Resulting from Rapid Urban Area Growth ... Rising Use of Fees and Service Charges to Help Finance New Facilities ... Rising Use of Municipal Sales Taxes ... How Can Municipalities Revitalize Their Downtown Areas? ... Shopping Malls and Their Impacts on Local Business Communities ... International People-to-People and Town Affiliation Programs

municipalities at the start of the decade to more than 13,000 at the end of the decade. Total state league revenues were $750,000 in 1950; this figure passed the $1 million mark in 1951 and the $2 million mark in 1956 and ended the decade at $2.5 million. By the end of the decade, leagues employed a combined total of 194 persons full time and another 23 part time. Several state leagues, including Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico and Ohio, hired full time executive directors for the first time during the 1950s.

Alaska organized a league in 1950 and Nevada, New Mexico and Wyoming reorganized during the decade. In 1951, Ohio finally overcame the legal obstacles to payment of league dues that first surfaced in a 1925 court decision when a court decision this time upheld payment of dues to support the league and enabled the league to hire staff starting in 1952. The victory was tempered in 1955 when the league had to defend itself against proposed state legislation prohibiting the use of public funds for payment of league dues, but the league succeeded in stopping the legislation. And New Hampshire, after hiring its first full-time staff in 1957, shut its doors in 1959 for three years when the governor vetoed legislation authorizing dues payments.

As leagues staffs and budgets grew, and as leagues became more effective in legislative advocacy and therefore more visible in the state political arena, they were forced to deal with questions about their legal status, their tax status, whether to incorporate, and other issues.

Separation of leagues from their integrated operations with state universities continued as leagues matured and became more self-sufficient. Tennessee municipalities agreed to earmark a share of their state revenues to fund the Municipal Technical Advisory Service (MTAS) operated by the University of Tennessee. Maryland set up a Municipal Technical Advisory Service patterned after Tennessee's.

Leagues entered the field of group health insurance for municipal employees in the 1950s by sponsoring or endorsing programs underwritten by private insurance companies.

New and Reactivated Leagues in the 1950s

Several state leagues were started or reactivated in the 1950s.

Alaska: A meeting in August 1950 was the starting point for a municipal league in what was at the time the territory of Alaska. The mayor of Anchorage, who called the meeting, noted with concern the rapid growth in and around municipalities, the lack of county governments or any agency with authority to regulate growth on the fringes of cities, and the revenue limitations resulting from heavy federal ownership of land. "The best thought of Alaska minds must be focused on our problems. How many of us know how our sister cities are approaching the problems of liquor control, valuation of property for tax purposes, collection of taxes, problems of borrowing money, letting contracts, etc.?" he wrote his colleagues. "We should profit from each other's mistakes and triumphs." The territory's size made organization challenging. Alaska's area is greater than the area of Washington, Oregon, California, Montana, and Arizona combined. Eight municipalities were able to send delegates to the four-day meeting; Nome's delegation traveled 536 miles to the meeting, Juneau's 573 miles. At the conclusion of the meeting, a constitution and bylaws were adopted, subject to ratification by all the city councils of the state. A dues schedule of 36 cents per capita was adopted, officers were elected, and the League of Alaskan Cities was under way. Five cities became members and attended the league's first annual convention in 1951, held in October in Kodiak. The five member cities represented one-third of the state's population.

Nevada: In Nevada, a second effort to organize a state league occurred at a meeting called by the mayor of Carson City in February 1951. There had been an earlier effort in 1944 at a meeting called by the mayor of Reno, but the league had apparently lapsed into inactivity. The Carson City meeting in 1951 was thus billed as the meeting to organize a state association. More meetings were held in the 1950s, but incorporation papers for the Nevada Municipal Association were not filed with the secretary of state until 1959, which is the date the Nevada league uses as its founding date. Nevada hired its first executive secretary in 1960, and changed its name from Nevada Municipal Association in 1974.

Ohio: The Ohio Supreme Court was presented with the opportunity to review the subject of municipal appropriations to such organizations as the Ohio Municipal League. In 1925, the court had dealt a death blow to the infant Conference of Ohio Municipalities by prohibiting payments by municipalities to maintain such organizations. Repeated efforts to secure a legislative solution during the 1930s ended when the governor vetoed legislation in 1937. In 1951, the Ohio Supreme Court, in a Dayton case known as *State, ex. Rel., McClure, City Manager v. Hagerman, Director of Finance,* 155 O. S. 320, overruled the 1925 Semple decision and upheld the authority of municipalities to expend public funds for such organizations. The first full time executive director was hired in 1952, offices were established in Columbus, and a new magazine, *Ohio Cities and Villages,* was inaugurated on January 1, 1953.

Connecticut: An Association of Connecticut Cities and Towns was established at a meeting in 1954, and the new organization adopted a budget and legislative program for 1955. The league functioned for only three years, however, and by 1957, Connecticut once again dropped from the list of states having a state league. A league had previously been reported in Connecticut from 1914 to 1918, and again in the late 1930s. The present day Connecticut league, however, dates its existence from 1966.

New Mexico: Meetings to reorganize the New Mexico league began in 1950, and the new league was in operation in January 1951. It functioned sporadically without staff during the 1950s, in some years appearing on the list of active leagues and in other years dropping off, until the first full-time executive director was hired in 1959.

Wyoming: Yet another effort to organize was made in Wyoming in 1952, the League of Wyoming Municipalities that had been organized in 1944 having become inactive following its legislative success in the 1951 session. The renewed interest in a league resulted from municipal opposition to a telephone rate increase by a regional company. A temporary organization was formed in 1952, and the name was changed to Wyoming Association of Municipalities. But limited interest kept the new WAM from becoming fully operational until 1955, at which time

the University of Wyoming decided to take a more active part by naming a new league executive secretary who was housed in the university's reconstituted Community Service Division. The first annual convention of the newly named Wyoming Association of Municipalities was held in Worland in 1956, and this third time around organizationally proved to be the successful one; the league has operated continuously ever since.

Arizona and **West Virginia:** Both these states reorganized in 1954

A number of existing leagues upgraded from part time to full time executive secretaries or directors during the 1950s — Montana in 1951, Arizona and New Hampshire in 1957.

New Hampshire: The upgrading of New Hampshire from a part time to a full time league in 1957, accomplished with help from a $24,000 Spaulding Trust Fund grant to set up independent offices, was the culmination of a fifteen-year effort dating back to the early 1940s. But the new full- time league quickly ran into difficulty. When it was discovered that cities had statutory authority to spend funds for membership but towns did not, the association had legislation introduced to remedy the situation. The bill was vetoed by the governor, however, who was angry with the executive director for accusing the governor of not being interested in municipal issues because he did not respond to a candidates' questionnaire during the previous election campaign. The executive director resigned, the New Hampshire association closed its offices in 1959, and all activities were discontinued except for the magazine, which was financially self-supporting. The New Hampshire Municipal Association reopened in 1962.

Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania League of Cities of the Third Class changed its bylaws so that the remaining first and second class cities, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, could become members. The name could thus be changed to Pennsylvania League of Cities.

Leagues in the intermountain west got together in September 1954 and agreed to create the Intermountain Regional Conference. Participants in the meeting included Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada and Utah. Whether the group ever met again is not known.

The leagues of nine southern states (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia) joined in 1959 to sponsor a meeting in Washington, D.C., with their congressional delegations and staffs, the first such meeting of a regional grouping of state leagues in Washington on federal legislative issues. It marked the beginning of the rapid rise in state league attention to national legislative issues during the balance of the century.

Legally, What is a League?

As leagues increased in size and scope of activity during the 1950s, various issues began to arise regarding their legal status. Most had to make decisions about whether to incorporate, whether to seek legislative standing, how to clarify their tax status, and how to deal with such issues as public or private retirement plan benefits for employees.

Authority for municipalities to pay league dues had been the subject of legislation early in the lives of some of the oldest leagues, among them Iowa, Minnesota, New Jersey, and New York. A second wave of legislation occurred in the 1940s and 1950s, in Alaska, Arkansas, Illinois, Kansas, and Virginia, for example. But many leagues operated without specific legislative authority for dues. A number felt that league dependence on state legislation opened the door for legislatures to retaliate by withdrawing authority or putting limits on dues. Others felt that specific authority simply wasn't needed.

Court decisions blocked payment of dues to leagues in Ohio in 1925 and Arizona in 1943, but by the mid-1950s courts in both of those states found ways to reverse their earlier decisions. Courts in Arizona, Arkansas, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, and Oregon had upheld dues payments by 1958.

Most other leagues relied on general grants of authority to municipalities for payment of league dues and did not seek special legislation nor were league dues challenged in court.

Leagues found they lacked status to accept grants for research purposes and began to think of ways that they could be become eligible. In 1955, the California league created The Institute for Local Self Government as an adjunct organization devoted to educational purposes and therefore eligible to receive foundation and other grants. In 1962 it

received a $60,000 Ford Foundation grant to study San Francisco metropolitan area issues.

Some leagues raised questions as to whether they were exempt from federal excise taxes on purchases, travel, communications, and other items. The variety of ways in which leagues were legally organized — some were incorporated, some not; some designated instrumentalities of local governments, others without specific designation; some created by or recognized in state statutes, others having no such recognition — became grounds for concern and discussion among league directors and staffs.

In 1957, the American Municipal Association obtained a blanket exemption from federal excise taxes — communications, transportation, and retailers and manufacturers excise taxes — for state leagues of municipalities without regard to their individual corporate status.

Whether state leagues should incorporate under the laws of their respective states also became an issue in the 1950s. By the late 1950s, leagues in California, Colorado, Florida, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, and Ohio were reported as incorporated. The reasons they cited for incorporation included limitations on members' liability, the ability to take and hold property, and the need for organizational stability and protection of name. But other leagues decided not to incorporate, citing the possibilities for increased state regulation and reporting requirements, the possibility of being subject to state taxation, and the lack of any demonstrated need to undergo the expense.

The issue of the legal status of leagues surfaced in yet another context as leagues started to mature: whether league employees could be covered under social security and various public employee retirement systems. No uniform solution was developed. Some leagues were able to bring their employees under the state retirement system for public employees, in some cases with specific legislative authorization. Some chose to provide retirement coverage available from the private insurance industry. A few obtained coverage along with NLC employees under a national program primarily for teachers; this program was later closed to other leagues because of questions of eligibility.

Group Health Benefits and the Leagues

The 1950s saw the entry of state leagues into the field of sponsoring group health benefits programs for municipal employees. Leagues typically agreed to offer a program underwritten by a private insurance company, lent their names to the program, helped market it to municipalities and monitored administration by the companies in exchange for a fee paid to the league by the companies. Fees from these programs increased in importance as nondues revenue sources for many leagues.

Three leagues — Idaho, North Carolina, and Utah — offered group health benefits in 1950. The numbers expanded steadily over the decade, with leagues in nineteen states (Arkansas, Colorado, Georgia, Idaho, Iowa, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming) reporting at the end of the decade that they sponsored programs. Some 12,500 municipal officials and employees were covered by league group plans at the end of the decade.

Formal League-University Relationships

State universities provided substantial help in getting leagues off the ground in a large majority of states, beginning in the 1910-1919 decade and continuing in most cases through the 1920s. Universities were major players in the big boom years of league reactivation and growth in the 1930s. University professors frequently helped call the league organizing meeting and usually provided facilities and staff through university extension programs at little or no expense to the league. Many universities established bureaus of municipal reference or governmental research. Many leagues named a university staff member as their secretary-treasurer or executive secretary. Among the pre-1930 leagues, Colorado, Illinois, Kansas, Kentucky, Minnesota, Michigan, Nebraska, Oregon, and Texas developed joint operating relationships with their universities. Most leagues organized in the 1930s relied upon university assistance.

Not all leagues were developed with university assistance, however. Among the earliest (pre-1930) leagues, California, Florida, Indiana, Iowa, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Pennsyl-

vania, and Utah developed without formal university ties, although most of these developed close cooperation with universities. Texas severed its formal university ties in the 1920s, and Illinois, Kansas and Michigan severed theirs in the 1930s.

Many universities maintained active municipal research bureaus with or without formal affiliations with their state leagues well into the 1950s and even later. At one point, some fifty-four universities were members of the Conference of University Bureaus of Governmental Research, most with heavy emphasis on local government administration. Their relationships with state municipal leagues varied widely.

The joint league-university operating relationships peaked in the 1950s and early 1960s and began a steady decline until all had disappeared by the 1970s. Leagues outgrew the university relationships of earlier years for two reasons. First, as leagues became more aggressive on legislative issues, universities became more uncomfortable with lobbying activity of league directors and staff who were housed in bureau-league joint offices and in some cases held joint university-league appointments. And leagues were uncomfortable with university rules and regulations on lobbying by university personnel, for example, reporting to a central university lobbyist, or coordinating with the university's lobbying effort.

Second, universities were confronted with funding issues during this period that made them less interested in expending monies on programs not directly related to teaching and academic research. The mission to provide service to local governments that had started a half-century earlier with the Wisconsin Idea and University Extension grew out of fashion in the 1950s and 1960s. Bureaus of municipal information necessarily became more closely tied to academic research and training and less motivated to meet practical information needs of municipal officials.

Some leagues (for example Kansas, Michigan, North Carolina, and Texas) had been separated since the 1920s and 1930s from the intertwined facilities and staffing arrangements with the universities that helped them get started. By the 1950s the seeds for separation were being sown in most of the others (Colorado, Kentucky, Maryland, Min-

nesota, Oregon, South Dakota, Washington, and Wyoming). Colorado separated from the University in 1957, but actual separations did not occur until the next decade in the other states, and in the case of Minnesota, not until the 1970s.

Washington had been the first state to agree to an earmarking of the municipalities' share of state funds for research, information, and technical assistance when it agreed in the early 1940s to a four-cents-per-capita share of the cities' share of state motor vehicle excise taxes to the Bureau of Governmental Research at the University of Washington.

In 1950, Tennessee established what became and remains perhaps the most extensive joint league-university program when the Municipal Technical Advisory Service (MTAS) was established. Tennessee's MTAS was created by state legislation passed in 1949 and implemented in a formal memorandum of understanding between the league and the university in 1950. The Tennessee league agreed on behalf of its municipal members to earmark a portion of the municipalities' share of the state sales tax to support MTAS, with state general fund monies providing an equal matching amount. The program was set up in the University of Tennessee extension division under direction of an executive director with oversight by a seven-person council that included the league's executive director. It created and maintains an extensive staff of consultants throughout the state to provide assistance to municipalities on a broad range of municipal administration subjects.

Maryland experimented with a similar MTAS program starting in 1959. At the request of the league, the university established a Municipal Technical Advisory Service, which had been the subject of several years of discussion, to meet the need for information and technical assistance. Disagreements soon developed between the league and the university, however, over operation of the technical advisory service, including the MTAS response to requests from counties. This, combined with tension over university restrictions on lobbying by persons on the university payroll, which included the league's executive secretary, led the league to break with the University of Maryland and set up the Maryland league as an independent organization ten years later in 1969.

Also in the 1950s, the New Jersey league persuaded Rutgers University to establish a Bureau of Government Research. Among the Bureau's programs were training and certification for the various affiliated organizations of the league.

Ordinance Codification Moves to Private Sector

Codification of municipal ordinances as a league service was first offered by the Iowa league early in the 1900s, and by the Kansas and Texas leagues in the 1920s. Several leagues became involved in the late 1930s when federal WPA funds became available for ordinance codification and other local government administrative improvements.

Private code publishers soon moved into the field after World War II, and by the 1950s only five leagues were still directly involved in ordinance codification — Kansas, Oregon, Tennessee, Wisconsin and Virginia. In Wisconsin and Virginia the activity was minimal. Wisconsin codified two cities' ordinances as preparation for developing a model code of ordinances for municipalities. And Virginia's service was little used as private firms entered the business. Tennessee still provides ordinance codification through MTAS. Kansas and Oregon still offer ordinance codification as a league service.

A League "Ladies Auxiliary"

As leagues cemented relationships in the 1950s with various groups of municipal officials and employees (for example, city managers, attorneys, clerks and finance officers, police and fire chiefs), Idaho and Utah pioneered with an innovation: formal organizations for "wives" of municipal officials. In both cases, the organizations were called "Ladies Auxiliaries" of the league. The Ladies Auxiliaries in Idaho and Utah each had a constitution and by-laws, a treasury and nominal dues schedule, an elected president and other officers, and an annual convention at the time of the league's. The Idaho group declared its purpose to be "to promote the interests of the wives and partners of all public officials in the State of Idaho, to secure combined action by them and to stimulate interest and cooperation among women of the State in affairs in which public officials participate."

Arizona and Colorado expressed some interest in the mid-1950s, but neither followed up and most other leagues shunned the idea. But many leagues developed special programs for spouses and partners of officials as part of building attendance at their annual conferences, a practice that remained widespread until the mid-1990s.

State Leagues in a Changing Nation . . .
The 1950s

U. S. Population in 1950:	150,697,361
U. S. Population in 1960:	179,323,175
Per Cent Urban in 1950:	64.0
Per Cent Urban in 1960:	69.6

The Decade Concludes

At the end of the decade, the forty-three functioning state leagues were for the most part staffed on a full time basis and had established their status as independent legal entities. Their state legislative priorities continued to focus on the mounting municipal fiscal crisis as municipalities struggled to accommodate postwar growth. Many leagues were getting into new activity, primarily in the field of health benefits for municipal employees. And the university relationships of the early years and the 1930s and 1940s were beginning to come to an end.

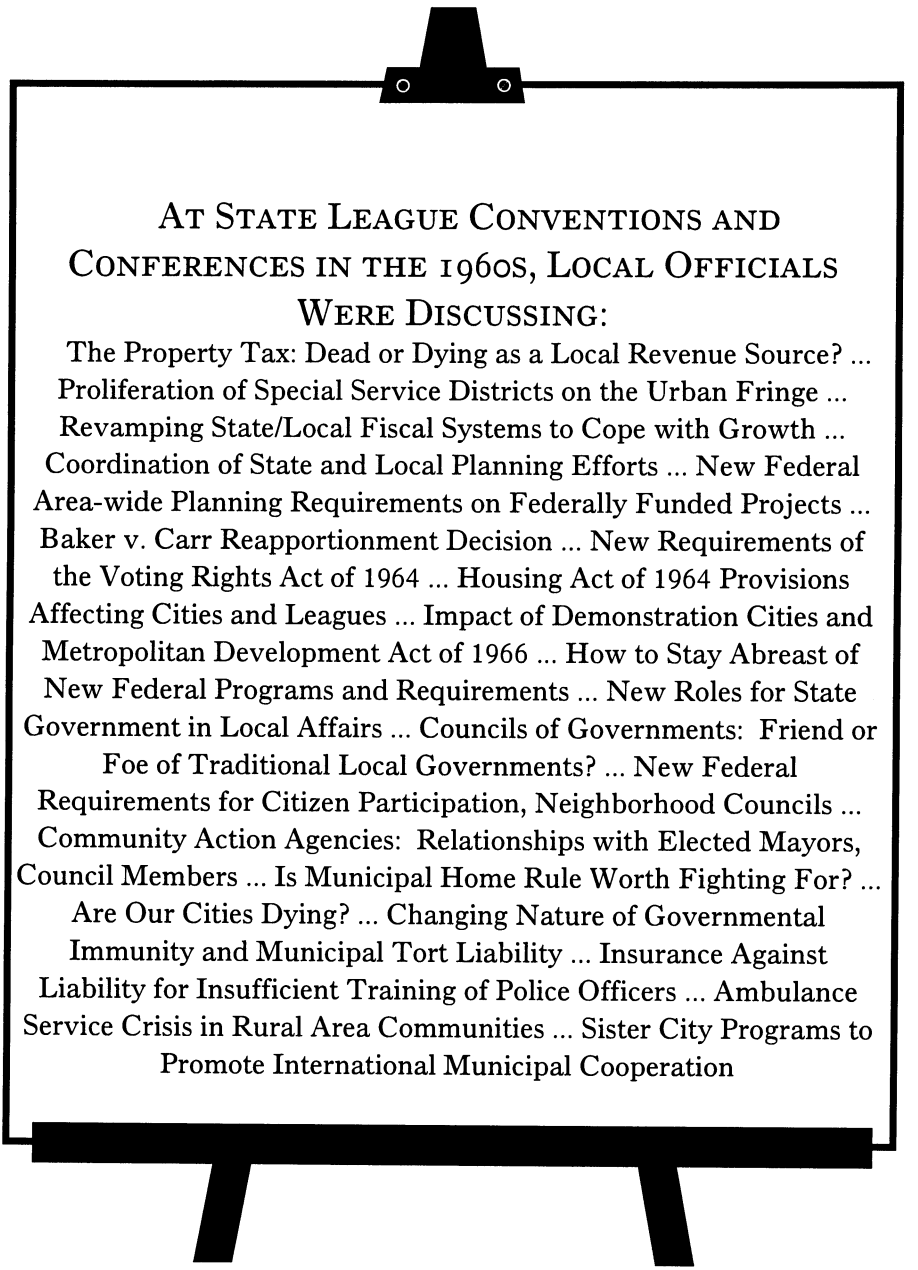
The

1960s

New England Leagues Organize to Complete the League Map: *Massachusetts Creates League as Umbrella Organization in 1961 ... New Hampshire Re-Starts League in 1962 ... Delaware Officials Organize League in 1965 ... New Federal Programs Affect and Involve Leagues ... Connecticut Officials Organize League in 1966 ... Vermont Officials Organize League in 1967 ... Rhode Island Officials Organize League in 1968 ... Push for Intergovernmental Cooperation Creates New Partnerships and Structures ... Governmental Immunity Starts to Fade from the Scene*

The 1960-1969 decade saw the map of state leagues completed (except for Hawaii). The remaining New England states organized, as did Delaware, and New Hampshire reopened its doors after a shutdown in the late 1950s. By the end of the decade, a state league was operating for the first time in every state except Hawaii.

Budgets, staffs, membership, and programs of state leagues grew steadily over the decade, although total membership of state leagues did not grow as fast as during the previous decade. Total league budgets grew from $2.7 million in 1960 to $4.7 million in 1967. Total league staffs grew from 215 full time in 1960 to 265 in 1967. Total membership of all state leagues grew from 13,300 at the start of the decade to more than 14,000 at the end of the decade.



At State League Conventions and Conferences in the 1960s, Local Officials Were Discussing:

The Property Tax: Dead or Dying as a Local Revenue Source? ... Proliferation of Special Service Districts on the Urban Fringe ... Revamping State/Local Fiscal Systems to Cope with Growth ... Coordination of State and Local Planning Efforts ... New Federal Area-wide Planning Requirements on Federally Funded Projects ... Baker v. Carr Reapportionment Decision ... New Requirements of the Voting Rights Act of 1964 ... Housing Act of 1964 Provisions Affecting Cities and Leagues ... Impact of Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966 ... How to Stay Abreast of New Federal Programs and Requirements ... New Roles for State Government in Local Affairs ... Councils of Governments: Friend or Foe of Traditional Local Governments? ... New Federal Requirements for Citizen Participation, Neighborhood Councils ... Community Action Agencies: Relationships with Elected Mayors, Council Members ... Is Municipal Home Rule Worth Fighting For? ... Are Our Cities Dying? ... Changing Nature of Governmental Immunity and Municipal Tort Liability ... Insurance Against Liability for Insufficient Training of Police Officers ... Ambulance Service Crisis in Rural Area Communities ... Sister City Programs to Promote International Municipal Cooperation

The decade was marked by a range of noteworthy events for the nation and for local governments — assassinations, including that of a President; urban riots, and public agony on how to respond; new federal attention to civil rights; court-ordered reapportionment of state legislatures; new interest by state governments in urban affairs; and a host of new federal domestic programs, several of which directly involved state leagues.

The 1960s were the decade in which councils of governments burst on to the local government landscape, stimulated and supported by new federal planning requirements and supported financially from various federal programs. They immediately became new actors on the local government scene, in some cases praised and in other cases scorned or ignored by state leagues. It was the decade when local government reorganization and intergovernmental cooperation became bywords. Various study commissions were organized at the national and state levels to study urban problems, promote efficiency and economy, and study transfer of functions among local governments. New efforts were made to achieve city-county cooperation on a number of fronts, and new federal requirements were established requiring joint federal-state-local review of all activities involving federal funds. All these developments affected the programs and operations of state leagues.

Massachusetts Creates League as Umbrella Organization in 1961

A meeting to organize the Massachusetts League of Cities and Towns was held in January 1961. A league constitution was adopted in February, the league's first annual meeting was held in May, and a league office opened with two full time employees in August. A Massachusetts mayors association had existed for half a century, and several other municipal groups (selectmen, managers, and administrators) also maintained their own organizations. An effort in the mid-1930s to organize a municipal league had not succeeded, and Massachusetts remained a state of several associations of individual officials but until 1961 no association of municipal governments. The new league was structured as an umbrella organization with board seats allocated among the various officials' groups.

New Hampshire Restarts League in 1962

The New Hampshire league, closed after the governor vetoed legislation authorizing league dues in 1957, was restarted when new legislation was approved in 1961 and signed into law by the same governor who had vetoed the original legislation in 1957. Ironically enough, the governor owned the building in which the new offices and new executive director were established. Municipalities soon re-joined, attracted by the opportunity to participate in state purchasing contracts through a league-negotiated contract. By the end of the decade, the staff had grown to five as the league worked both on state legislation and on developing as a resource for local officials through publication of manuals, handbooks, and other resource materials.

Delaware Officials Organize League in 1965

The Delaware Mayors Association decided at a meeting in March 1965 to change its name and purpose, adopt new bylaws, and become the Delaware League of Local Governments. A University of Delaware faculty member became the first executive director and the league's offices were on the university campus. The organization initially included both municipalities and the state's three counties, but it was later reorganized to limit its membership to municipalities. The offices were later relocated from the university campus in Newark to the state's capital, Dover.

Connecticut Officials Organize League in 1966

Efforts to organize a league in Connecticut began early in the decade. The University of Connecticut offered the fledgling Connecticut League of Cities and Towns free office space and equipment on loan in its Institute of Public Service, plus the offer of half salary for a person who would hold positions as both league executive secretary and director of the institute. The new league's board tried to promote membership and develop interest in a league, but in 1965, they announced abandonment of attempts to organize a league for the present time, due to insufficient interest. Dues collected so far would be held for five years in case a league was organized. If no league were formed, money would be turned over to the university for scholarship purposes. But interest revived only a year later, and in 1966, the Connecticut Conference of

Mayors organized at a meeting in New Haven. Its name was later changed to Connecticut Conference of Mayors and Municipalities, and then in 1975 to Connecticut Conference of Municipalities.

Vermont Officials Organize League in 1967

A meeting to consider organization of a Vermont municipal league was held in August 1965, following up on several earlier meetings. A temporary league organization was formed and a University of Vermont political science professor served as acting executive director. The Vermont League of Cities and Towns' formal organizing meeting was held at the Montpelier city hall in June 1967. Bylaws were adopted and officers elected. The league moved ahead with hiring a full time executive director in January 1968 at an annual salary of $10,500, but the person selected resigned fifteen months later, and the league fell back on the university professor who helped get them started for interim staffing. By September 1969 a second full time director had been hired.

Rhode Island Officials Organize League in 1968

At a meeting in October 1968 the Rhode Island Municipal Chief Executives voted to change its name to Rhode Island League of Cities and Towns and to adopt new bylaws creating a state municipal league. The chief executives association had been formed almost ten years earlier, but it functioned without staff and limited its activities primarily to meetings to discuss common problems and socialize. Much of the information about the league's earlier years was lost in an office fire in the mid-1970s.

When Rhode Island organized in 1968, the league map was complete (Hawaii excepted).

Other League Organizational Developments

In total number of members, Illinois replaced Iowa as the largest league, having 865 members as the decade began. Iowa dropped to second with 776 and Minnesota third with 625. In total staff size, Kansas held the number one spot at the start of the decade with 21 staff members. California was second with 18 and Michigan third with 16.

New Jersey remained at the top of the list throughout the decade for total annual convention attendance. In 1960, New Jersey registered

4,671 for its convention, followed by California with 3,800 and Texas with 2,000.

The Oregon league moved its headquarters off the University of Oregon campus in Eugene to the state capital city of Salem in 1966. The Wyoming league moved off the University of Wyoming campus in Laramie, hired a full time executive director and established independent offices in Cheyenne in 1967.

The League of California Cities pioneered among leagues in 1960 with establishment of a Committee on the Future, a committee devoted to looking ahead at municipal issues. The committee continues to function to the present day. Minnesota established its Metropolitan Section to focus special attention on issues in the complex and fast-growing Twin Cities metropolitan area. The Arizona league assumed responsibility for staffing the new Maricopa Association of Governments, the regional council for the Phoenix metropolitan area.

In 1967, Internal Revenue Service promulgated new rules on taxation of income from non-profit association magazines and trade shows, prompting leagues to take another look at their legal and tax status and the ways in which they accounted for income and expenditures related to their magazines and conventions if they were designated non-profit associations for tax purposes.

The concept of local governmental immunity from tort liability first began to erode in the 1960s with court decisions and legislative actions in a number of states. The Oregon, Tennessee, and Washington leagues became involved early on in efforts to work with their legislatures on new rules and limits for governmental tort liability. The topic spread rapidly to other states to become a major issue for all states in the 1970s.

The American Municipal Association changed its name to National League of Cities in 1964.

New Federal Programs Challenge Leagues

An array of new federal domestic programs in the 1960s affected state league programs and operations.

State leagues became important information channels for new federal programs, and national associations like the National League of

Cities were called on by the federal government and by local governments to provide information about pending federal legislation, comments on pending regulations, and information about regulations actually adopted on a whole range of new programs. With limited technical staff of their own, state leagues and NLC were spread thin trying to track not only legislation but also very detailed and technical federal regulations. Several of the larger state leagues formally reorganized their internal operations to give new focus to federal programs. By 1965, Alabama, Georgia, Minnesota, Tennessee, and Pennsylvania had held special institutes on new federal programs. The California, Georgia, Kansas, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Tennessee leagues all issued their first manuals or handbooks on new federal programs. Several leagues, including those in Georgia, Kansas, Minnesota, and Texas, designated federal program specialists on their staffs. The California, Michigan, and Nebraska leagues all reported redirecting staff priorities to accelerate their federal information activity.

Several federal programs turned out to provide funding for state leagues.

The Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966 opened up opportunities for several leagues to expand their staffs with funds from Title IX of the act. Title IX provided for governors to designate state agencies or instrumentalities of the state's political subdivisions to develop, staff, and maintain technical assistance and information programs in recognition of the shortage of professional and technical manpower and information resources faced by local governments. The Arizona, California, and Georgia leagues were designated early on as the agencies for carrying out Title IX assistance. The New Hampshire and Oregon leagues followed soon with their applications for Title IX funds to provide assistance to local governments. Several other pieces of federal legislation in the 1960s provided opportunities for state league participation and in many cases direct federal funding. Among these were Title VIII of the Housing Act of 1964 and Title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965. The Section 701 planning assistance program also was used by a number of leagues to help fund staff positions with which to conduct training and prepare publications to

assist municipal governments with planning issues. Most leagues did not actually receive federal funds from these 1960s legislative enactments until the 1970s because of the time lag between adoption of federal legislation, development of federal regulations, and submission and approval of league applications.

Regional League Activity Results from Federal Action

When the federal government established ten federal regions in the mid-1960s and created a federal regional council in each made up of regional administrators of federal programs, it provided new impetus for state leagues to begin meeting together on a regional basis. They met and talked with federal administrators and also exchanged information and ideas on state legislation and other league programs.

Regional meetings of leagues were held in most areas of the country starting in the mid 1960s, using the federal regional boundaries, although the federal boundaries did not always group leagues together according to mutual local government interests. This was especially true in federal Region 2, which grouped New York, New Jersey, and Puerto Rico into a single region.

New England leagues were especially active and started development of a regional resource agency that became known as the New England Municipal Center. The center opened its doors in 1971, funded largely from federal funds allocated by federal regional administrators, and operated for twelve years. Leagues also became active on a regional basis in southern states and in the far west.

Leagues Begin to Talk Pooling

In 1967, NLC first surveyed leagues about their interest in and plans for pooling liability insurance coverage for their member municipalities. At that point, only six reported having considered the idea, and four (Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico, and South Carolina) said they had dropped the idea. Only Alaska and California said the idea was still under discussion. Pooling was placed on the back burner until the 1970s.

Georgia and Missouri got into the business of administering retirement programs for municipal employees in the 1960s.

Legislation establishing the Joint Municipal Employees Retirement System (JMERS) was approved by the Georgia legislature in 1968, with the program administered by Georgia Municipal Association. The Missouri Local Government Employees Retirement System (LAGERS) was established a year later, with the Missouri Municipal League placing the program under direction of the league's associate executive director. Fifty-nine municipalities were members of the new program at the end of the first year, the league reported.

A Decade of Rising Complexity Concludes

The 1960-1969 decade closed with all states except Hawaii having leagues in place and operating. The environment in which leagues operated, however, had also become vastly more complex.

The federal government and many states were carving out new roles for themselves in the 1960s on issues affecting local governments. Many new federal programs were enacted during the decade, and the effort to decentralize federal programs to regions was put in place with establishment of federal regional councils. Many states started developing new departments of community affairs to handle state administration of the new federal programs and some new programs of their own. Councils of governments emerged suddenly as new players in intergovernmental relations at the state and local level.

State Leagues in a Changing Nation . . . The 1960s	
U. S. Population in 1960:	179,323,175
U. S. Population in 1970:	203,235,298
Per Cent Urban in 1960:	69.6
Per Cent Urban in 1970:	73.6

A number of leagues began participating in federally funded programs known in their short form as Title VIII, Title IX, and 701 planning assistance. Leagues began meeting together on a regional basis, and the New England leagues began creating their New England Municipal Center which became operational early in the following decade. And two leagues — Georgia and Missouri — began operating major municipal employee retirement systems.

League staffs, programs and priorities changed significantly once again during the 1960s, this time shaped by new federal grant programs, new state government interest in urban issues in the form of new state agencies for local affairs, and new federaly inspired local government associations known generally as councils of governments.

The

1970s

Federal Programs Help Drive League Expansion: *Most Leagues Find Federal Funds to Expand Programs Early in the Decade ... Total League Employees Increase by More Than 50 Per Cent ... Texas Municipal League Establishes First Group Self-Insurance Pool in 1973 ... Non-Dues Income Becomes More Important Than Dues Income for Most Leagues ... Pools Start to Replace Federal Funds as Major Non-Dues Income Source*

Federal programs shaped state league growth and development during the 1970-1979 decade. A broad range of federal domestic assistance programs providing grants to states and local governments had been approved by Congress in the middle and late 1960s, and by the early 1970s, leagues in several states had been designated by state or federal agencies to assist with program implementation. Total state league staff employment passed the four hundred mark in 1974 and grew another 50 per cent to pass the six hundred mark five years later at the end of the decade. Many of the new league staff positions were financed in whole or in part from federal funds, either directly from the federal government or by state agencies with responsibility for federal program implementation. The National League of Cities granted federal Office of Economic Opportunity funds directly to some leagues.

At State League Conventions and Conferences in the 1970s, Local Officials Were Discussing:

Federal Revenue Sharing Becomes a Reality ... Decentralization of Federal Programs to Federal Regional Councils ... New Federal Affirmative Action Requirements in Employment ... Test Validation and Other Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Requirements ... Application of Federal Fair Labor Standards Act to Local Governments ... Impacts for Municipalities of New Federal Occupational Health and Safety Laws ... New Public Service Jobs, Employment Training, Work Incentive Programs ... Federal Flood Disaster Protection Act of 1973 Requirements for Local Governments ... Community Development Block Grants and Other Special Revenue Sharing ... Expanded Federal Citizen Participation Requirements ... Sunbelt-Frostbelt Divisions Among Municipalities on Federal Grant Formula Issues ... Municipal Responsibilities in Social Service and Human Service Programs ... New Federal Requirements for Community Antennae Cable Television Operators ... Impact of Increasing Leisure Time on Municipal Recreation Programs ... Energy Supplies, Prices and Other Issues for Local Governments ... Bike Paths, Other Local Environmental Enhancement Activity ... Municipal Responsibilities with Dutch Elm Disease ... New Requirements for Open Public Meetings, Public Records, Financial Disclosure ... Local Government Participation in the 1976 Bicentennial Observance ... Property Tax Limit Fever: California's Proposition 13 in 1978

In organizational developments among the leagues, two municipal organizations, West Virginia League of Municipalities and West Virginia Association of Cities, merged in 1970 into the West Virginia Council of Towns and Cities which later became the West Virginia Municipal League. The Utah Municipal League changed its name to Utah League of Cities and Towns. The Minnesota league formally separated from the University of Minnesota in 1974, ending one of the longest-running combined league-university operations, dating back to the founding of the Minnesota league in 1913.

The League of California Cities faced a legal challenge in 1970 when the statewide police officers union sought an injunction against San Francisco to prevent payment of dues to the league on grounds that the league had used taxpayer funds to oppose legislation increasing benefits for police officers. The league filed a demurrer, which was sustained; the union appealed but without success. A similar legal challenge to the league's authority to collect dues was filed in 1979 by the police union against the Georgia league. The league also prevailed in this case. Labor organizations sponsored legislation in Oregon prohibiting use of public funds to influence legislation; the bill died in committee.

The six New England leagues organized the New England Municipal Center, which opened its doors in 1971 as a regional resource and back up for state league programs. It was funded primarily from federal grant programs through allocations from the Federal Regional Commission, with limited financial support from the state leagues. It developed a staff that fluctuated in size depending on grants but at one point consisted of some twenty-five persons. The New England leagues shut down the New England Municipal Center in 1983 after most federal funding sources were discontinued and replacement income could not be found.

Among new league programs, apart from federal grant-funded programs and risk pooling, was a municipal employees' credit union established by the New Hampshire league in 1970.

State League Constituencies Begin to Splinter

Several leagues saw the largest cities in their states take steps to organize coalitions on their own during the decade. The "Urban Twelve"

was organized in Virginia. The "Alliance of Cities," consisting of fifteen of the largest cities, was organized in Wisconsin. Similar large city groups were organized in Florida, Missouri, and New York.

Efforts were made also to split small municipalities away from state municipal leagues. New organizations were developed, using federal grant support, representing themselves as devoted to the special issues confronting small communities — towns, townships, villages — on grounds that existing municipal organizations (state municipal leagues, NLC, and USCM) neglected small community interests. In Connecticut, a state organization, the Council of Small Towns, developed.

This "splintering" of the municipal constituency was due in part to the proliferation of federal programs and differences in the ways they were administered, some through states for smaller municipalities and some directly to large cities. Large cities became most interested in holding on to a few federal programs in which they participated directly, and medium and smaller-sized municipalities were more interested in other federal programs more widely available or available through states. The municipal constituency was divided over the Community Development Block Grant program, for example, because of how the program was administered.

The splintering of leagues was due also in part to the increasing number of suburban municipalities in most states and their rising influence in their state municipal leagues when conflicts developed between central city and suburban city interests.

Several leagues reviewed their voting structures and large city representation on their governing bodies; some developed weighted voting to increase the strength of their larger city members. A few leagues experienced large city membership problems, with a handful of major cities dropping out of their leagues for a while. Most eventually returned. But virtually all leagues experienced rising tension among their members during the decade.

Federal Funds Help Build League Programs

The Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966 provided grants to agencies designated by states to provide technical advisory and information service to cities, and state leagues in at

least a dozen states received funds from this program to build staff and program capacity in this area. The Intergovernmental Personnel Act provided for grants to many state leagues for training and personnel assistance programs. Among recipients were leagues in Maryland, Georgia, Michigan, Missouri, and Nebraska. In Missouri, for example, the league received about $8,000 annually from Intergovernmental Personnel Act funds to prepare publications and conduct workshops. The league tried to select projects that would provide long-term benefits for city officials and last beyond the grant. Many current Missouri league publications were first prepared with IPA funds.

In other examples of league use of federal funds, the Idaho league used Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA) funds to hire nine persons to implement employment programs in the state on a regional basis. Law Enforcement Assistance Act funds were used by the Vermont league in a study of police services. Office of Economic Opportunity funds stimulated state league attention to human resource issues with grants to California, Connecticut, Georgia, Kansas, Maine, Michigan, Missouri, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Virginia. A technology transfer program in Connecticut was funded by a Department of Defense grant. Federal foreign service employees were made available on temporary mobility assignments to leagues in Massachusetts and Connecticut.

The Michigan league obtained funding under Title VIII of the Housing Act of 1964 to train code enforcement officers and others and used Intergovernmental Personnel Act funds to evaluate and coordinate training programs and develop its computerized wage and salary database to assist local governments in collective bargaining under new Michigan statutes. Michigan also received IPA and Law Enforcement Assistance Administration funds, as well as U. S. Department of Justice and Federal Emergency Management Agency funds, to validate tests developed for selection of various groups of employees, for example, firefighters. North Carolina received an IPA grant to establish its new personnel and labor-management relations program in 1975.

The federal grants were not without complications for leagues. Federal grant recipients were required to have their own affirmative action

programs, which forced some leagues to adopt or revise their own personnel policies. And the reporting requirements and accounting and auditing requirements required new attention to league administrative procedures.

But the federal grants picture changed significantly by the end of the decade. Most of the federal grants were one-time or short-term grants, leaving leagues the challenge of finding other ways to fund the programs. Some programs became self-supporting from fees or other local revenues; other programs were dropped after the federal funding ended. Federally funded league activities faded steadily toward the end of the decade.

Pooling Gains a Foothold Among Leagues

The last half of the 1970-1979 decade saw the beginning of state league involvement in what was then a new activity — intergovernmental risk pooling. Variously described as everything from group self-insurance to intergovernmental risk sharing pools, they were set up and operated by leagues as municipally owned cooperatives, attracting primarily municipalities under 50,000 population. The pools collected premiums from municipalities and paid losses in much the same manner as insurance companies, replacing purchase private insurance for municipal loss protection in large numbers of smaller communities. Most league programs placed heavy emphasis on loss prevention programs, resulting in favorable claims experience and allowing many pools to pay so-called "dividends" back to member municipalities either in cash or in future rate reductions.

Pooling was to become the major area of growth for leagues in the following decade of the 1980s. It replaced league sponsorship or endorsement of insurance industry products, primarily group health benefits for municipal employees, that started in the 1950s and had become quite popular in the 1960s.

The Texas league established the first pool in 1973 to provide workers compensation coverage. Five more states set up workers compensation pools by the end of the decade. Alabama set up its program in 1976, Florida and Michigan in 1977, and Kentucky (a joint city-county pool at first) and Maine in 1978. Georgia set up the first pool for health

benefits for municipal employees also in 1973. Texas became the second league health benefits pool in 1979.

Arkansas became the first state pooling liability coverage in 1978 and Florida and Tennessee set up their liability programs in 1979.

A few states extended the pooling concept to unemployment benefits for municipal employees, and three of the five state programs began in the late 1970s — Michigan in 1977, Maine in 1978, and Kentucky in 1979.

Several other state leagues had pooling feasibility studies under way by the close of the decade, which would result in a large number of new pools early in the 1980s.

The "Transition Decade" Concludes

Federal grants to local governments started their steady decline during the 1970s, the total amount of federal assistance to local governments having peaked in 1969. The sheer numbers of federal grant programs came under fire, and various programs, especially small ones that had limited political support, were cut back, discontinued or consolidated with others. State leagues, which had used funds from many of these new federal grant programs to bolster their own resources during the late 1960s and early 1970s, found their federal funding sources drying up by mid-decade and were confronted with dropping services or finding replacement revenues.

State Leagues in a Changing Nation . . . The 1970s	
U. S. Population in 1970:	203,235,298
U. S. Population in 1980:	226,542,199
Per Cent Urban in 1970:	73.6
Per Cent Urban in 1980:	73.7

In the meantime, league participation in risk pooling began midway through the decade what was to become its meteoric rise as a league activity. By the end of the 1970s, pooling was on the verge of replacing federal programs as the major source of non-dues income for leagues. As always, however, there were significant exceptions on both fronts. Some leagues never got into programs dependent on federal funds. And others refrained from getting into risk pooling as a new or replacement activity.

The trend of increasing reliance on non-dues rather than dues income to finance league expansion was set in place during this decade. In 1973, twenty-six leagues depended on dues for 60 per cent or more of their budgets. By 1979, only nine leagues depended on dues for 60 per cent or more of their budgets. And dues had become less than half of state league budgets in slightly more than half of the state leagues.

At the end of the decade, California still had the largest league staff — forty-one persons. But Maine, the thirty-eighth largest state in total population, had developed the second largest league staff with thirty-four persons. Minnesota was third with thirty, and Michigan, one of the oldest leagues, tied with Connecticut, one of the newest leagues, for fourth place with twenty-eight each. Thus the 1970-1979 decade was in many ways a transition decade for leagues: Nondues income surpassed dues income, and expansion financed by federal grants gave way to expansion through entrepeneurship, primarily in risk pooling.

Never again would most leagues limit their programs to those that could be financed from membership dues.

The

1980s

Group Self-Insurance Pools Fuel Rapid League Growth: *Leagues Drawn In To Debates on Various National Issues ... Leagues in 35 States Organize 62 New Pools to Respond to Member Needs ... League Pools Organize Their Own Reinsurance Company — NLC Mutual — in 1986 ... Total Premium Volume for All League Pools Tops $750 Million by 1989 ... Other Entrepreneurial Activities Continue to Attract Leagues*

More major shifts in activities and programs marked the 1980-1989 decade for state leagues. State league legislative priorities came more and more to be influenced by such national trends and developments as tax caps, spending limits, and tort liability. During the 1988 elections, many leagues attempted to work with NLC on a coordinated effort to make urban issues part of the national election debate, and one league, Iowa, conducted a presidential candidates forum.

Early in the decade, leagues were drawn into the nationwide spread of tax cut and spending limit fever growing out of passage of Proposition 13 in California in 1978. Organizations sprouted in many states seeking to replicate the California tax limit story. Leagues were likewise drawn into battles over tort reform as yet another insurance industry crisis affected insurance availability and affordability in both the public

AT STATE LEAGUE CONVENTIONS IN THE 1980S, MUNICIPAL OFFICIALS WERE DISCUSSING:

The End of Federal Revenue Sharing ... Continued Decline of Federal Financial Assistance for Local Governments ... Division Among Municipalities on Which Federal Programs to Preserve ... Unfunded Mandates on Local Governments ... Local Impact of Rising Unemployment, Weakened Early 1980's Economy ... Growing Public Skepticism About Government Expenditures, Effectiveness ... Municipal Liability Exposure Under Federal Antitrust Laws ... Municipal Liability Under New Federal Civil Rights Law Interpretations ... Rising Municipal Insurance Costs and Pooling as Alternative to Insurance ... Municipal Risk Management to Cut Costs, Improve Productivity ... Energy Conservation-What Can Municipalities Do? ... Municipal Tree Planting Programs as Energy Conservation Measure ... Growth Management: Impact on Planning, Housing, Quality of Life Issues ... Water Supply Quantity, Quality as a Limit on Growth ... Phaseout of Federal Financial Assistance for Water Pollution Control ... The Unfunded Municipal Liability of Deferred Infrastructure Maintenance ... Impact Fees on New Development to Help Finance Infrastructure ... Tax Increment Financing for Redevelopment ... Industrial Development Bond Financing: New Opportunities, New Limitations ... Drug and Alcohol Abuse in the Municipal Workplace

and private sectors and forced state legislatures to look at their own tort claims environment. The never-ending municipal revenue crisis kept leagues in continuous encounters with state legislatures over a range of state-local fiscal issues — state revenue sharing and allocation of state revenues, mandated costs, property tax reform, and local revenue authority.

At the federal level, leagues were drawn into the struggle to save federal revenue sharing, which despite the popularity of the program with local governments, was ultimately unsuccessful. And the change in national administration at the start of the decade accelerated the push to reduce federal grant programs benefiting cities. Various federal structures set up during previous decades were reorganized or eliminated. The requirement for intergovernmental review of projects under Circular A-95 was scrapped. States sought and were given increased authority in allocation of community development block grants and other programs.

Leagues lost most of the direct federal assistance that had marked the 1970s and confronted the need for replacement or additional revenues. This occurred in the midst of the anti-tax, anti-spending governmental environment, coupled with a national economic recession, that made major increases in league dues seem impractical or impossible to most leagues. The total number of state league employees declined during 1981, reflecting loss of grants and contracts and increased operating costs due to inflation. Fifteen leagues reported reductions totaling thirty employees that year, although seven others added a total of fourteen employees. Total league employment dropped below six hundred employees from its 1980 peak, and budget decreases were reported by eight leagues.

Leagues thus turned to development of nondues income by embarking on a variety of new activities, quite different from those of the past, that came to be lumped under the category of "entrepreneurial programs." And the new activities turned out to have potential tax implications as well as potential conflicts of interest with other league programs, forcing leagues in some cases into court and in others to deal

with difficult external and internal political issues on the structure of the new programs.

But by far the most dramatic change for leagues came with the explosion of intergovernmental pooling during the decade. The decade began with only a handful of pooling programs in operation among the leagues — five for workers compensation, two for health benefits, three for liability, and three for unemployment compensation. By 1989, sixty-two new pools had been organized. Total annual premium volume of the league pools passed the $100 million mark early in the decade and increased steadily to $750 million annually by the end of the decade. Thirty-five state leagues were directly involved in pooling by the end of the decade, compared with nine at the start of the decade. Governmental pooling spread to other jurisdictions and organizations during the decade — for example, regional pools in California and in certain regions of other states, county association and school board association pools in several states, combined state-local pools in a few states — but the state league pools almost overnight became the largest group of intergovernmental pools in the country.

Thus the decade ended with a significant majority of state leagues having made another round of major alterations in their staffing, sources of income, kinds of activities and governing structures to accommodate and manage new activities, primarily pools.

But about a quarter of the leagues chose not to enter the pooling field and stayed away from other entrepreneurial activities, resulting in leagues looking much less like each other than in the past.

Leagues Drawn into Debates on Various National Issues

League representation of municipal interests in state legislatures was dominated by anti-tax and anti-government-spending fever that seemed to sweep the country after California voters approved Proposition 13 in 1978. Proposals to put caps on tax increases and to put limits on spending increases showed up on state legislative agendas everywhere. Forty-one states had such measures before their legislatures in 1980. Some sixteen states had measures on the ballot in 1980, but only five passed, leading some to conclude that the mood for tax and spending cuts cooled fairly quickly as states and local governments described

in detail the impact of measures put forth by various antigovernment groups.

The focus on state-local fiscal relationships did open up new relationships between the national organizations representing governors and legislatures and the National League of Cities representing municipalities and state leagues. The National Governors Association held meetings with NLC and state league representatives to consider setting up an NGA committee on state-local relations, but no permanent group was established. The National Conference of State Legislatures set up a state-local relations task force in 1982. NLC and state league representatives met regularly with the task force as it considered tax and spending limits, mandates, payments in lieu of taxes, and state assistance. NCSL provided full time staffing for the task force, which was upgraded to an NCSL standing committee in 1986, and issued a number of publications on tax and spending limits and state-local fiscal relationships. The committee was later merged with two other NCSL standing committees.

Tort reform, including governmental tort liability, jumped to the top of state league legislative agendas in the mid-1980s. Spurred by ever-increasing damage claims and awards, since plaintiffs and juries reasoned that governments had "deep pockets" to pay awards when other defendants might not, local governments found themselves receiving either cancellation notices or major price increases on their insurance policies. Proposals were presented to state legislatures revising state tort liability laws, and establishing new rules and in some cases limits on governmental tort liability. Tort liability temporarily jumped to the top of the priority list for most leagues; in 1986, more leagues reported tort liability as their top priority than any other subject. Some 1,200 bills on tort liability were before state legislatures that year. Forty-four states passed tort liability legislation in 1987, and twenty-one states reported tort liability legislation in 1988. But by 1989, tort liability reform had apparently run its course.

A change in national priorities with the presidential election and installation of a new administration in 1980 accelerated the steady pressure to shrink federal grants to local governments from their high point

of the early 1970s. State leagues were urged to become involved in efforts to lobby Congress to save federal programs, and most leagues beefed up their capacity to participate with National League of Cities in national lobbying efforts. Leagues stepped up their efforts to maintain ongoing contacts with their congressional delegations and their staffs, and expanded their participation in NLC's annual Congressional City Conference each March.

Federal revenue sharing with local governments, first adopted in 1972, encountered increasing congressional resistance each year of its life. State leagues joined in the efforts orchestrated by NLC and other national groups to save the program from extinction by organizing a variety of activities to showcase the benefits of the program and provide due credit to friendly members of Congress. The effort was ultimately unsuccessful, however, and federal revenue sharing ended in 1986, despite all the efforts of state leagues and NLC to save it.

The National League of Cities coordinated an effort to increase attention to urban issues in the 1988 national elections, and a number of state leagues became involved. The Iowa league organized a Presidential Candidates Forum in the fall of 1988, the most ambitious state league activity in terms of national political visibility.

State leagues also stepped up their attention to legal or judicial advocacy during the decade as court decisions turned against local governments in many cases because of weak municipal defense arguments. Many leagues reported increasing involvement in filing *amicus curiae* briefs before their state supreme courts to represent statewide municipal interest in a broad range of cases. A 1986 survey showed twenty-nine leagues involved in filing *amicus curiae* briefs, nine of them filing in five to ten cases in the previous five years and another nine filing in more than ten cases in the previous five years. The Colorado league reported being involved in twenty-three state supreme court cases in the eight years between 1983 and 1991.

The Minnesota league established what it called the City Lawyer Exchange Aid and Repository (CLEAR) program, supported by a subscription fee from municipal attorneys, which included a referral service to attorneys with expertise in particular areas of the law, a brief bank,

and research and drafting assistance. The Texas league added in-house legal capacity to assist city attorneys in brief preparation. Michigan established a Legal Defense Fund in 1983 to provide financial assistance to cities and city attorneys preparing arguments in cases with significant statewide impact. The fund established a dues schedule ranging from $100 to $1,000 per year, with the Michigan Municipal Attorneys Association board and the league president and director deciding jointly which cities would receive financial assistance from the fund. The 1986 NLC survey of state league legal advocacy and service programs found a total of forty full-time attorneys on state league staffs, and most leagues involved in judicial or legal advocacy in some fashion.

Two leagues — Kentucky and Oklahoma — were named in lawsuits during the 1980s that challenged their existence, a reoccurrence of the issue that cropped up in Ohio in 1925, then in four states in the 1940s and in Georgia and again in California in the 1970s. In both of the 1980s cases, league policy positions on labor relations issues inspired the challenge. In Kentucky, labor leaders filed suit against Louisville, alleging that it could not spend public funds to support league lobbying. Labor leaders were angered by league activities on unemployment insurance, collective bargaining and prevailing wage legislation. The appeals court dismissed the case in 1985, and on appeal, the Supreme Court denied the case. Labor representatives subsequently introduced state legislation prohibiting use of public funds to support the league, but the legislation died in the 1986 session. Similar circumstances surrounded the efforts of labor unions in Oklahoma to challenge Oklahoma City's payment of league dues, but the case has languished at the lower court level for several years and has not been brought to trial at the time of this writing.

State leagues dealt with a number of issues relating to their tax status during the decade, and the differences in state league legal structures assumed more significance. Leagues organized as tax-exempt nonprofit organizations became the target of inquiry into whether they were earning unrelated business income on various activities such as insurance pools, magazines, and trade shows. Leagues with designations as instrumentalities of local governments were subject to different rules,

and their income was treated the same as income of local government jurisdictions so long as it could be demonstrated that the league was performing an essential governmental function. Income from state league insurance pools was the subject of challenges in Maryland in 1981 and Michigan in 1982. Maryland ultimately was forced to repay an accrued tax liability; Michigan was not held liable for unrelated business income tax. The Kentucky league won a tax court ruling that income earned from its tax collection program was not subject to unrelated business income tax. In 1986, IRS won (on appeal) a lengthy landmark case, known as the American College of Physicians case, in which tax-exempt nonprofit organizations were held liable for unrelated business income tax on their magazine operations. But most leagues had by that time, with appropriate attention to cost accounting, established that there was no income from their magazine operations.

The New England Municipal Center, organized in 1971 as a resource by and for the six New England state leagues, ceased operations in 1983. It had been financed largely from various federal grant funds allocated by federal regional offices, and as grant funds were discontinued, alternative sources of funding could not be developed.

But state league directors kept up their efforts to communicate regularly on a regional basis even after federal regional councils were deemphasized. The New England league directors decided to continue meeting regularly, even after closing the New England Municipal Center, and they still meet regularly. League directors in the Midwest started meeting regularly in 1986. League directors in southern states severed their relationship with Southern Growth Policies Board and established their own free-standing Southern Municipal Conference in 1988. The southern leagues provided funding to enable hiring of part-time staff. The Southern Municipal Conference eventually spread to cover fourteen southern states with an active program of information exchange, advocacy, and leadership training that continues to the present day. State league staff members began meeting periodically with their counterparts from other states, both informally on the regional level and nationally through NLC-sponsored programs.

Maine, well on its way to developing one of the largest league staffs in the country, began a process of an annually updated Five Year Development Plan in 1982. In 1987, the Florida league developed a program of annual grants to its regional organizations to help them cover staffing and other operating expenses. Kentucky Municipal League changed its name to Kentucky League of Cities in 1989.

"Entrepreneurial Programs" Expand League Activity

State league governmental risk pools (discussed in a later section) were easily the most widespread and dramatic change for state leagues as organizations in the 1980s. But a host of other new activities were developed during the 1980s as leagues looked for opportunities to build staff capacity and provide new services to members that would also generate substantial non-dues income.

Tax-exempt municipal bond pools were established in at least six states — California, Florida, Tennessee, Kentucky, Illinois, and Utah — during the 1980s when the municipal securities industry was promoting use of tax-exempt municipal financing for a wide range of activities. Several other leagues considered but did not establish bond pools. The California bond pool was developed jointly with the county association as an industrial development bond program. The others were league-operated municipal pools providing funding for a wide range of municipal activities. The league pools involved the league selling a single bond issue, then making loans to municipalities from the proceeds at lower cost than many municipalities, especially small ones, could obtain if they sold their own individual bond issues. In most cases, an administrative fee generated income for the league. Congress adopted new limitations on tax-exempt municipal bonds as part of its 1986 tax reform legislation, including new rules affecting bond pools, and the Illinois pool and the second Utah pool were subsequently discontinued. The Florida, Kentucky, and Tennessee pooling programs continued as substantial activities in these three states. Examples of other areas of new activity under the heading of entrepreneurial programs were identified in a special 1994 NLC survey. Among those developed (or significantly expanded) in the 1980s: investment pools (Florida, Minnesota), labor relations and personnel services (Michigan,

Pennsylvania), group purchasing of computer-related hardware and software (Georgia, Illinois, Michigan, South Dakota), and energy and environmental assistance (Montana, Pennsylvania).

In addition to generating new nondues income, many leagues, reluctant early in the decade to increase dues because of the negative tax and public spending climate in the aftermath of California's Proposition 13, decided by the end of the decade to move aggressively on changing their dues schedules in order to build financial capacity for keeping up with increasing demands for league services.

Dues for their largest city members reached a new higher plateau by the end of the 1980s, reflecting large-city commitments to the financial strength of their state leagues. In 1962, only three leagues (Arizona, California and Oregon) reported annual dues from their largest members of more than $20,000, the highest being $27,500. By 1973, six leagues (California, Colorado, Missouri, New Mexico, Oregon, and Washington) reported largest city dues over $30,000, with none over $40,000. In 1980, the largest city dues passed $40,000 in six states. But by 1990, eleven state leagues (Arizona, Colorado, Georgia, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Washington, and Utah) reported largest city dues of $60,000 or more, and in two states, the figure was slightly over $90,000 annually.

League Pools Dominate the Decade

Easily the most important change of the 1980s in how leagues are organized and operated resulted from the explosive growth of state league risk pools in the 1980s.

State league pooling got its start in the 1970s when Texas pioneered workers compensation pools in 1973, Georgia health benefits in 1973, and Arkansas liability in 1978. Nine state leagues had pooling programs when the decade started. At the end of the decade, only eight state leagues did *not* have pooling programs that had as a minimum been inaugurated or supported by the league and in all but a few cases were still operated by the league.

Leagues formed new pools at the average rate of seven per year throughout the decade, the most active single year being 1987, when twelve new league pools came on line. During the decade, the annual

"premium" paid to state league pools went from $90 million in 1981 to $750 million by 1990.

Workers compensation coverage proved the most popular among pools organized in the early 1980s. Liability (in many cases combined with property) proved the most popular in the second half of the decade, reflecting the tight insurance industry market of the mid-1980s. Health benefits pools were added gradually over the decade, usually in response to sharp increases in private insurance industry coverage costs. Only one unemployment insurance pool (Pennsylvania) was established during the decade.

The table on the next page shows how state leagues got into pooling during the 1980s. Note that this table covers only pools started in the rapid-growth 1980-1989 decade, not those started in the 1970s or 1990s when far fewer pools came on line in any one year. A complete list of all state league pools is maintained by National League of Cities.

Organizational structures for the administration of state league pools varied widely. Most state leagues placed their new pools under a separate board of directors or board of trustees. Members of these boards were in many cases appointed by the league's governing body, and in a few, the league's governing body served as the pool's governing body. Many pools were started by contracting with third party or independent service providers for substantial segments of the pooling program. Claims handling, underwriting, and loss prevention were frequently contracted out. Leagues typically started with one employee on staff to oversee the program and monitor performance of the third party service providers and work with service providers on marketing. As pools grew rapidly, leagues saw fees to third party service providers escalate sharply, especially where fees were based on a percentage of premium volume. Most leagues concluded that the league could provide better services at lower cost than outside service providers and started bringing functions in house and hiring their own pool staffs.

Some controversy developed over appropriate arrangements between the sponsoring league and the operating arms of the pool as leagues added significant numbers of new staff members primarily with insurance industry backgrounds. Traditional league employees — lobbyists,

State League Pool Development in the 1980s

Year started (# of pools)	Workers compensation	Liability (and/or property)	Health benefits for city employees
1980 (7)	Connecticut	Minnesota	Minnesota
	Minnesota		Kentucky
			Florida
1981 (9)	Iowa	Colorado	Arkansas
	Illinois* (combined)	Illinois* (combined)	South Carolina
	North Carolina	Oregon	
	Tennessee		
1982 (6)	Georgia	Michigan	Vermont
	Massachusetts	Arkansas (Vehicle)	
	New York		
1983 (6)	New Mexico	Michigan	Maine
		Texas	Minnesota
			North Carolina
1984 (3)	South Carolina	Massachusetts	Tennessee
1985 (4)	Arkansas	Arkansas (property)	New Hampshire
	Utah		Utah
1986 (8)	Massachusetts	Connecticut	
		Iowa	
		New Hampshire	
		North Carolina	
		Pennsylvania	
		Rhode Island	
		Virginia	
1987 (12)	South Dakota	Arizona	
	Vermont	Georgia	
	Nevada (city-county)	Kentucky	
		Maine	
		Maryland	
		Mississippi	
		New Mexico	
		South Dakota	
		Vermont	
1988 (5)	Alaska*(combined)	Alaska*(combined)	
	Colorado	Florida (Property added)	
		Mississippi	
		Rhode Island	
1989 (2)	Rhode Island	Tennessee (Property added)	
		Washington	

communications staff, trainers and meeting planners, and research staff — sometimes mixed uncomfortably with new pool staff coming from profit-oriented insurance industry backgrounds with different kinds of employee compensation programs, benefits and performance incentives. In at least one case, a pool established by the league broke away unexpectedly and established itself as an independent entity over the opposition of the league that had created it. But most leagues developed pool staffs in the same offices and under the same direction as other league staffs. Louisiana incorporated a new organization, Risk Management, Inc., as a wholly owned subsidiary of the league in 1987 to assume responsibility for its various pooling programs and to provide loss control and other risk management services.

In most cases, pools paid sponsoring leagues not only direct operating costs and overhead but also a royalty or "institutional value" fee for sponsoring, supporting, and lending the league's name to the pooling activity. Pools developed into sources of substantial nondues income for leagues, in some cases exceeding league dues income. Pool staffs became as large as if not larger than the balance of league staffs in some states.

League pools and other intergovernmental risk pools came under scrutiny of state insurance regulators on a number of occasions during the 1980s, sometimes prodded by the private sector insurance companies, which became alarmed at the amount of traditional insurance business lost to pools. In 1983, the National Association of Insurance Commissioners promulgated uniform rules and regulations for workers compensation pools with a recommendation that these rules be adopted in individual states. But by the time NAIC promulgated the model rules and regulations, relationships between pools and regulators in their own states had developed, amicably in most cases, and few state regulators added new regulations as a result of the model rules. An effort to have NAIC develop rules for liability pools late in the 1980s never gained much interest or support among regulators.

Despite ongoing attacks from the private insurance sector, pools amassed a track record on solvency better than the private sector insurance industry. No state league pool has become insolvent. One league

pool has been voluntarily shut down. Tennessee started its health benefits pool in 1984 but shut it down in five years later in 1989 after determining that it could not develop sufficient market share to assure benefits at prices competitive with the private sector. The pool arranged to transfer coverage for all its members to other carriers before closing its doors.

Pools Band Together, Create NLC Mutual as a Reinsurer

From the start, state leagues sought information and help from each other as they developed their pools. In 1981, state leagues agreed on extra annual payments to NLC to set aside time of NLC staff for work on pooling issues. A program now known as the NLC Risk Information Sharing Consortium (NLC-RISC) was set up in 1982, supported by an increasing number of leagues (starting with fourteen pools in 1982 and increasing steadily over the decade). NLC-RISC became the pools' vehicle for representing pool interests at the state and federal level, particularly in activities of National Association of Insurance Commissioners, as well as for exchanging operating and financial information confidentially among state league pools and conducting in-service training for pool staffs and later pool trustees. It remains a separate program, now with a full-time director, within NLC.

The insurance industry market of the mid-1980s found leagues also interested in banding together to assure ready access to reinsurance. Working through NLC-RISC, league pools organized a reinsurance facility, NLC Mutual Insurance Company, that opened its doors for state league pool reinsurance in 1986. The participating leagues provided the up-front capital, set up the company as a captive mutual insurance company with each of the member pool policy holders holding a seat on the board, and contracted with National League of Cities to provide management services, oversight, and general program support. The company grew from four state league pool members in 1986 to 22 state league pool members in 1999, with total assets of $132 million in 1999. NLC Mutual earned its first rating from A.M. Best & Co. in 1995, ultimately achieving a rating of A Excellent in 1998 and again in 1999.

Leagues Conclude a Decade of Major Change

By the end of the 1980s, a majority of state leagues (three out of four) looked much different than when the decade began. Staffs and budgets increased dramatically for these leagues, with most of the budget and staff growth in nontraditional areas. The remaining one-fourth of the leagues stayed away from pooling or other nontraditional activity.

The largest league staffs in 1980 were California, 41; Maine, 34; Minnesota, 30; Connecticut, 28; Michigan, 28; Georgia, 25.

The largest staffs in 1989 were Connecticut, 54; Maine, 52; Florida, 50; Michigan, 43; and Minnesota, 42.

Maine total staff grew from eighteen in 1974 to fifty-two in 1989, Massachusetts from six in 1974 to twenty-seven in 1989, New Hampshire from five in 1974 to twenty-seven in 1989.

League budgets more than doubled in most states during the 1980s (figures are not adjusted for inflation). Only three state leagues (California, Michigan, and Texas) had budgets over $1 million in 1980. Eighteen (Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Texas, and Washington) had budgets over $1 million by 1989.

State Leagues in a Changing Nation . . .
The 1980s

U. S. Population in 1980:	226,542,199
U. S. Population in 1990:	248,718,301
Per Cent Urban in 1980	73.7
Per Cent Urban in 1990:	75.2

The five largest state league budgets in 1980 were California, $1,400,000; Texas, $1,285,000; Michigan, $1,022,000; Georgia, $969,000; and Florida, $796,000.

The five largest state league budgets in 1989 were Florida, $3,891,000; California, $3,539,000; Maine, $3,200,000; Connecticut, $2,956,000; and Michigan, $2,666,000.

And the dependence on dues as a percentage of total income varied widely by 1989. The five leagues with the highest percentage of dues to total income in 1989 (those most dependent on dues) were Delaware,

96.8 per cent; Wyoming, 85.0; Ohio, 77.0; Colorado, 76.0; and Indiana, 70.9.

The five leagues with the lowest percentage of dues to total income in 1989 (least dependent on dues income) were Maine, 28.7 per cent; South Carolina, 25.0; New Mexico, 23.0; Kentucky, 17.0; and Florida, 8.8.

The 1980s clearly brought major change to a majority of state leagues. Risk pools were the biggest change, but leagues were aggressive throughout the decade in exploring other activities and services that could cover costs and perhaps generate revenues to supplement dues income.

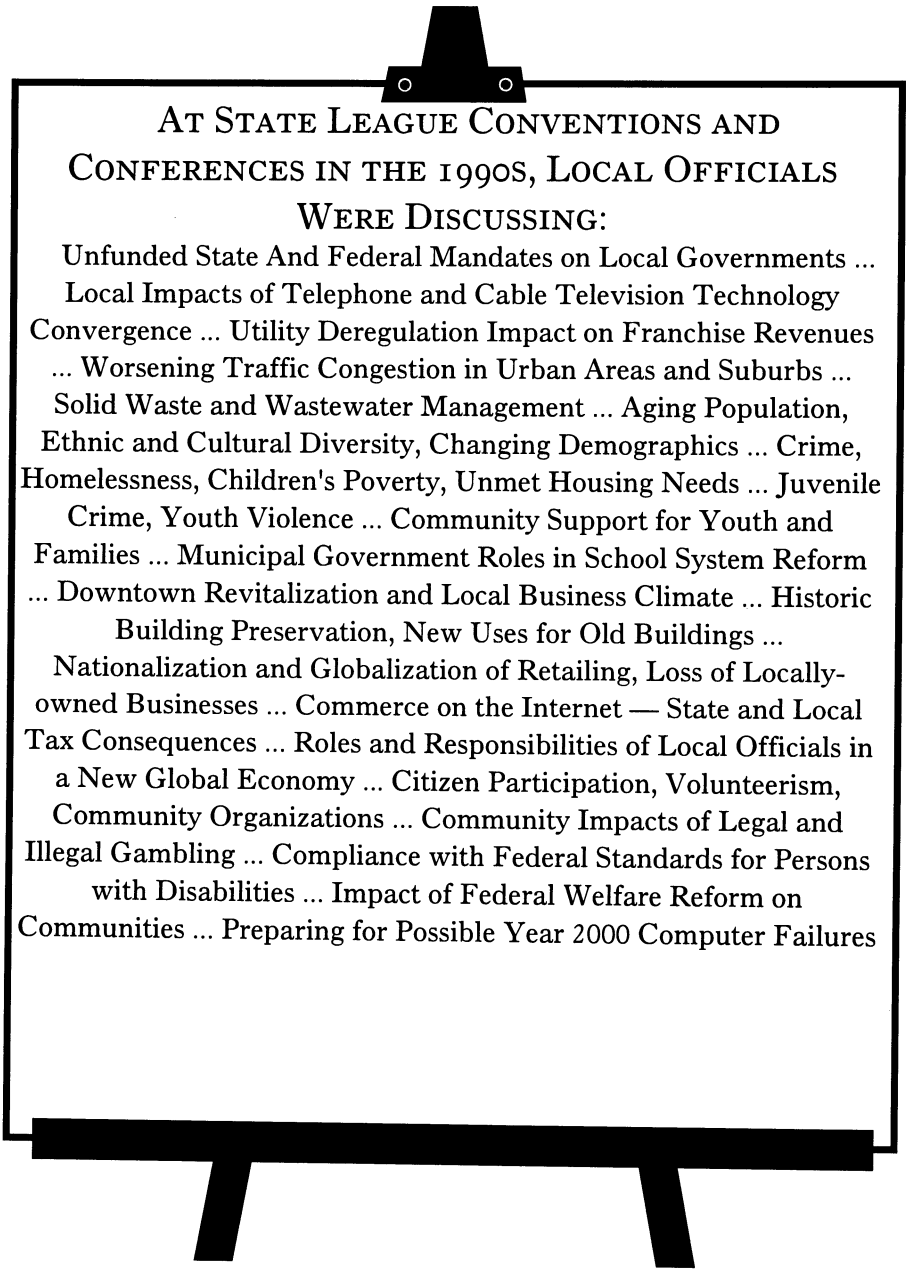
The

1990s

Maturity Brings More Diversity and Complexity, New Challenges: *Leagues Continue to Grow, Employees Top 1,300 Mark ... Total State League Operating Budgets Double to $140 Million ... Federal Deregulation, Devolution Pitch New Issues, Opportunities to Leagues ... Federal and State Legislative Policy Issues Converge ... Leagues Launch More New Programs, Generate More Non-Dues Income*

State league staffs and budgets continued to grow in the 1990s, with most of the growth fueled by non-legislative activities, primarily risk pooling, and most of the growth occurring in the twenty-five largest leagues. Total league employees passed the 1,000 mark early in the decade (1993) and passed the 1,300 mark by 1999. Total league budgets were about $70 million annually at the start of the decade and doubled to $140 million by 1999.

State league growth was not evenly distributed, however. The largest league staff at the end of the decade was Florida's, with 150 employees, the smallest was in Delaware with two part-time staff members (one full-time equivalent), and the median league staff size in 1999 was sixteen employees. The ten largest leagues employed 801 of the 1358 total league staff, about 60 per cent of the total. The ten smallest leagues employed 39 persons, 3 per cent of the total. The 24 leagues above the me-



At State League Conventions and Conferences in the 1990s, Local Officials Were Discussing:

Unfunded State And Federal Mandates on Local Governments ... Local Impacts of Telephone and Cable Television Technology Convergence ... Utility Deregulation Impact on Franchise Revenues ... Worsening Traffic Congestion in Urban Areas and Suburbs ... Solid Waste and Wastewater Management ... Aging Population, Ethnic and Cultural Diversity, Changing Demographics ... Crime, Homelessness, Children's Poverty, Unmet Housing Needs ... Juvenile Crime, Youth Violence ... Community Support for Youth and Families ... Municipal Government Roles in School System Reform ... Downtown Revitalization and Local Business Climate ... Historic Building Preservation, New Uses for Old Buildings ... Nationalization and Globalization of Retailing, Loss of Locally-owned Businesses ... Commerce on the Internet — State and Local Tax Consequences ... Roles and Responsibilities of Local Officials in a New Global Economy ... Citizen Participation, Volunteerism, Community Organizations ... Community Impacts of Legal and Illegal Gambling ... Compliance with Federal Standards for Persons with Disabilities ... Impact of Federal Welfare Reform on Communities ... Preparing for Possible Year 2000 Computer Failures

dian employed 1,163 persons; the twenty-four below the median employed 180 persons. Thus state leagues looked less and less like each other in the 1990s than they did in the 1960s and 1970s before federal programs and risk pooling changed the face of the leagues dramatically.

The continued growth in league employment in the 1990s occurred mostly because leagues continued to bring more of their pooling-related functions in-house. With the rapid startup of pools in the 1980s many leagues initially contracted out many operating activities. But as they gained experience and maturity in pool administration, they concluded that they could provide better service at lower cost with employees in house.

Assimilation of new pooling staff members, most of whom were recruited from the insurance industry, with other league staff members coming from public administration, policy research, communications and lobbying backgrounds, became a continuous challenge for the largest leagues during the decade. Compensation, performance evaluation, performance incentives, working hours, travel policies, compensatory time for extra hours worked all became issues as employees from different cultures were added to league staffs. The mounting issues of personnel administration became a regular topic for discussion among the directors of the larger leagues. Connecticut, which added a full time personnel director to its staff in 1989, expanded to a two-person human resources staff in 1991. New Hampshire also created a full-time human resources director position.

Pooling and other entrepreneurial activities were not the entire story of league growth in the 1990s. Leagues continued to beef up core activities such as legislative advocacy, information and publications, and conferences and conventions. Leagues continued to experiment with new strategies for improving legislative effectiveness. Magazines, newsletters, legislative bulletins, and other communications activities were streamlined as a result of new technology and increasing competition for reader attention. And state league conventions generally grew slowly but steadily in attendance as leagues strengthened content and revised convention formats. New Jersey continued to hold the record throughout the 1990s for the largest state league convention in the

country by far. Total attendance at the New Jersey league convention exceeded 20,000 by the end of the decade, with delegates housed in twenty-five hotels, number of general sessions and workshops exceeding 200, and exhibitors exceeding 900. New Jersey has held the record for the largest state league convention for more than a quarter century. California, Illinois, and Texas follow with convention attendance in the 3,500 to 5,000 range.

As in the past, issues surrounding the legal status of leagues surfaced from time to time during the decade. In Idaho, legislators asked the state attorney general whether the league was a public or private organization. The response was that the league is a private organization and that its records are not public records under the state's open public records law. The state attorney general held, however, that public funds may be used to support the league and that league employees are properly members of the state employees retirement system. In Connecticut, a labor organization filed suit seeking to open league files and meetings of league committees to the public, the particular interest being in data concerning municipal labor relations and in meetings of league committees discussing legislative strategy. The court subsequently held that Connecticut league records and meetings are not subject to the state's freedom of information law.

Interest in the liability of leagues as organizations increased as their activities and budgets increased, and most leagues began to buy insurance to protect officers, directors, and staff from damage claims. The Iowa league decided in 1991 to adopt a new policy on indemnification of officers, directors, and employees after a minor candidate charged in a suit that the league had excluded him from its 1988 presidential candidates forum.

The Internal Revenue Service continued to look at league activities and their tax implications. League associate member programs came under scrutiny in Maryland and Connecticut. Maryland decided to abandon its associate membership program because of the tax consequences. Connecticut restructured its program so that private organizations and persons would not have membership privileges that might be

construed as giving persons other than public officials an official voice in league programs, and thus protected its tax-exempt status.

Public Outreach Expands

During the decade several leagues developed and expanded public outreach programs and activities to build public support and understanding for municipal government in general, and for league legislative programs and the league as an institution in particular.

Municipal government days or weeks were developed in Indiana, Maryland, and Oklahoma. Kentucky and Connecticut used public service announcements on the radio to promote the league's message or image. Florida's league developed a weekly television show on municipal government; Louisiana's league developed a Youth Education Week; California's produced materials to help cities reconnect with citizens. Several leagues developed resource guides and materials on local government for teachers of civics and distributed them to school systems throughout their states. The Connecticut league used both billboards and bus advertising to promote its legislative program.

Leagues became involved in some nontraditional ways in various outreach programs. The Kentucky league, for example, cooperated with another group to sponsor a "Project Parent" program to increase public awareness of the importance of parenting to communities. Vermont became involved in a teenage alcohol abuse awareness program.

Using the Ballot Process

Before the 1990s, only the Arizona and Washington leagues had directly sponsored and organized statewide ballot measures to achieve legislative policy goals after the state legislature rejected league requests. Arizona was successful on four occasions starting in the 1940s, Washington unsuccessful in its only effort in 1966.

In the twenty-one states with the initiative and referendum process, most leagues did have experience in working on ballot measures with coalitions and groups, most often opposing ballot measures harmful to municipal interests sponsored by others groups, but on occasion supporting measures deemed beneficial. Leagues generally stayed away

from direct sponsorship of ballot measures, preferring to work within the state legislative process.

Four leagues (Florida, Louisiana, Massachusetts, and Maine) became directly involved in organizing and sponsoring their own ballot measures in the 1990s. Florida successfully sponsored a constitutional amendment in 1990 that placed limits on unfunded mandates. Louisiana sponsored a limit on unfunded mandates that was approved in 1991 by a margin of 58 to 42 per cent. Maine sponsored a measure in 1992 that required the state to fund at least 90 per cent of future mandates imposed on local governments; it was approved by a 54 to 46 per cent margin. And Massachusetts sponsored a statewide measure directing the legislature to allocate 40 per cent of state income, sales, and corporate income taxes to local governments. In the 1990 election, voters approved the measure by 57 to 43 per cent.

The South Carolina league became involved in a 1990 statewide election on local option sales taxes immediately following passage of authorizing legislation.

In California, where the initiative process has become an integral part of the state's policy-making process (an average of seventy initiatives are filed in the state every two years, although not all make it to the ballot), the league adopted a formal policy early in the decade on how it would become involved in ballot measures. It includes policies on when and how the league takes positions on ballot measures, how it develops and works with coalitions, and how the league participates in drafting of ballot measures.

"Federalization" of State League Legislative Issues

State league legislative priorities more and more came to be determined by forces and events outside state boundaries during the 1990s. Federal actions made up a large and obvious share of these forces and events, but the campaigns of national special interest groups also affected state leagues and their priorities. This was not the first time state league priorities were determined by developments outside their own boundaries. During the late 1970s and early 1980s, state leagues encountered a large number of state legislative proposals resulting from the nationwide anti-tax, anti-spending mood stimulated by passage of

California's Proposition 13 in 1978. And during the 1980s, most state leagues had to attend to their own governmental immunity statutes as a result of nationwide attention to court decisions and law suits in relatively few states and a tight insurance market that made traditional insurance protection unavailable and unaffordable for municipalities.

But in the 1990s, a host of new issues leapfrogged to the top of state league legislative agendas as a result of forces operating outside their state boundaries.

The Telecommunications Act of 1992, for example, brought into question the regulatory and franchising authority of local governments, once set by state law, and spawned both state legislative battles in most states and challenges to Federal Communications Commission authority over local government planning and zoning.

Federal deregulation of electric and gas utilities spawned state legislative battles over state and local regulatory authority and responsibility and local revenue sources.

Federal environmental regulations regarding solid waste disposal facilities spawned state legislative action and state and federal regulatory issues for municipalities.

Federal response to developer and landowner interests in the issue that came to be defined as "takings" resulted in both federal legislative proposals to federalize local planning controversies and in hotly contested state legislative proposals or ballot measures to limit local land use authority in many states. An especially disruptive proposal reached the ballot in Washington and was defeated after the league joined other groups in a strenuous campaign against the proposal.

Leagues in states with initiative and referendum authority increasingly found themselves involved in ballot measures sponsored by national groups headquartered outside their boundaries and far from their own local governments. Local government "takings" authority, local government regulations deemed by certain religious groups to interfere with free exercise of religion, and state preemption of local gun control, tobacco regulatory authority, or regulations on siting of mobile homes and manufactured housing were examples of issues brought into states by outside organizations, usually national organizations headquartered

far away, orchestrating issues state by state through their local chapters.

State and federal unfunded mandates on local governments became a joint national and state issue involving leagues in the 1990s. What began as local government anger primarily with federal mandates in the late 1980s blossomed into state league campaigns at the state level and a National League of Cities campaign at the national level actively supported by state leagues to place limits on mandates on local governments. Success came first at the state level, when California enacting mandate limitations in 1972. But the strong nationwide push did not come until the late 1980s. Constitutional amendments limiting mandates were approved in several states in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Voters in Florida, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and New Jersey approved league-sponsored or supported ballot measures limiting mandates. Legislatures in several other states enacted fiscal note requirements and a variety of other measures designed to slow or halt unfunded state mandates. Federal legislation, pushed for several years by National League of Cities, working with a coalition of state and other local government organizations, was finally enacted in 1995.

Local Official Training Takes a New Twist

Training of elected local officials and employees was a state league staple almost from the time state leagues were formed. Institutes for newly elected officials were organized in almost every state, frequently in cooperation with a university. Special workshops and institutes for mayors and council members, as well as for many groups of city employees, became standard fare for most leagues. Leagues were among the first to support and help conduct training for public safety employees and groups such as water and sewer plant operations. The federal George-Deen Act gave a boost to state league training efforts in the 1930s. And many of the federal programs of the 1960s and 1970s included funds used by leagues for training elected officials and various employee groups.

The new twist came as the concept of certification of elected local officials upon completion of certain training courses spread rapidly among leagues in the 1990s. The Alabama and Oklahoma leagues pioneered the certification of elected local officials. The concept soon grew

from certificates for completion of a group of training courses to the concept of continuing education, with certification offered for various levels of training. Attendance at state league and National League of Cities meetings counted toward meeting the certification requirement.

By the end of the 1990s, formal certification programs for completion of elected official training were in place in seventeen leagues (Alabama, Alaska, California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Texas, and Washington) with plans for such programs in development in at least five other states.

New Programs, New Services, New Revenues

The 1990s witnessed a steady stream of new programs and services among the leagues. Several were related to national legislative developments, specifically telecommunications and utility deregulation. Several were related to financing alternatives for a wide variety of municipal purchases. A number were related to municipal revenue collection. They continued to be lumped together under the general category of "entrepreneurial programs." Virtually all were based on the concept of services needed by member municipalities, and virtually all were designed to be financially self-supporting and in some cases to generate revenues for the league beyond actual costs.

In the area of pooling municipal purchasing power, a number of leagues, including Colorado, Massachusetts, Maine, and New Hampshire, negotiated discounts for telephone service for municipal governments early in the 1990s. The California league joined with the county association to negotiate prices for municipalities on a number of commonly used goods and services, including airline tickets. The Pennsylvania league established a program of assisting municipalities with purchases at state contract prices.

Several programs were related to financing for certain municipal purchases. Kentucky established a lease-financing program in 1992. Washington established a program to finance equipment and property purchases over fifteen years. West Virginia launched a program for financing major purchases. Georgia established an equipment leasing

pool for municipalities, using certificates of participation issued to members.

The Louisiana league undertook management of the Louisiana Local Government Environmental Facilities and Community Development Authority authorized by the legislature, secured legislative approval to expand eligible participants to include not only municipalities and parishes but also school boards and special districts, and began financing a range of economic development, industrial development and public infrastructure projects through loans, leases, and revenue bonds.

As federal deregulation of electric utilities proceeded slowly through Congress, federal agencies, and state legislatures and regulatory agencies, a number of leagues began work on the aggregation of utility purchases by municipal governments. Programs to aggregate natural gas purchases by municipalities had already been established by leagues in Georgia and Louisiana. Wyoming set up a gas purchase program in 1996. Programs to aggregate purchases of electricity were being set up in Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island as the decade ended. Rhode Island formally entered into a five-year contract with an energy supplier in April 1999 estimated to save the state's municipalities $2.5 million in energy costs. Plans were being discussed for similar utility-related programs in other states.

Georgia established a telecommunications management service to assist municipalities with franchises and audits of telecommunications companies.

Another new group of league programs in the 1990s helped municipalities collect revenues, although a few leagues (for example, Florida, Illinois, Kentucky, and South Carolina) had long-established programs to collect certain state taxes on businesses. Connecticut established a revenue collection program to help municipalities collect delinquent property taxes, ambulance fees, parking tickets, sewer charges, and other receivables. South Carolina established a program to collect business occupation taxes on telecommunications providers and also developed a municipal debt collection program under which the league advised the state of unpaid municipal bills, which were then deducted

from any state tax refunds to companies or individuals and the monies returned through the league to the municipalities.

A number of leagues contracted with various companies to assist municipalities in meeting new federal requirements for alcohol and drug testing of employees holding commercial driver licenses.

Three leagues (Idaho, Indiana, and Michigan) created new staff positions to help municipalities meet federal and state environmental regulations. The Michigan league established an environmental specialist position funded by municipalities themselves. The Indiana league created an environmental circuit rider program with federal Environmental Protection Agency funds allocated by the state's environmental agency. And the Idaho league established a position on the league staff with matching funds from the state.

Federal grants occasionally sparked other new league activities or projects. The Georgia league received a federal grant to work with a group of cities on developing more energy-efficient equipment for municipal water and wastewater treatment facilities, and the Connecticut league received a Department of Energy grant, as well as a Department of Justice grant, to develop materials and training on the Americans with Disabilities Act.

In 1990, the Ohio league helped create an Ohio Council for Japanese American Cooperation in recognition of changes in the global economy and the fact that many Japanese companies had established facilities in Ohio. The program helped deal with issues related to significant numbers of residents of Japan relocating to the United States and becoming residents of Ohio communities. The Kentucky league established a formal sister cities program. And several other leagues became involved in organizing exchange visits with local governments elsewhere around the world as interest in local government participation in the global economy continued to develop through the 1990s.

A number of leagues sought financial support from private sector foundations. The Indiana, Michigan, and Texas leagues created separate nonprofit research and training affiliates organized under Section 501c(3) to be eligible for grants from foundations that took the position that they could make grants only to such groups. Connecticut, how-

ever, received similar foundation grants without establishing a separate 501c(3) affiliate after their legal counsel concluded that a separate entity was not required. In Georgia, the league created a Georgia Cities Foundation in 1999 to receive corporate and other donations to foster public-private partnerships designed to assist cities with downtown revitalization.

Not every new league service or program became immediately successful. Some developed slowly over several years; others were dropped because of limited use. But the 1990s might well be called the "Entrepreneurial Decade" for state leagues as a substantial majority (but by no means all) aggressively explored options and opportunities to expand existing programs and provide new services financed from sources other than state league dues.

Leagues Begin Use of New Communications Technology

Some forty-four state leagues had home pages on the Internet by the end of the decade, reflecting new and expanded league use of electronic communications technology developed during the decade.

Leagues continued to discuss and explore new ways of using computer-based technology to expand services and programs, improve communications with members, and build general public support and understanding of local governments and leagues.

Some leagues (Idaho, Maine, and South Carolina, for example) used state educational television networks for training programs for municipal officials.

The Decade and the Century Conclude

When 1899 ended one hundred years ago, leagues were barely up and running in five states. None had full-time staffs. Their primary activities were holding annual conferences and conventions and advocating municipal interests before state legislatures.

As 1999 ended a century later, leagues were operating in forty-nine of the fifty states. All but one had full-time staffs. All but two held annual conferences and conventions, and those two geographically small states also regularly convened shorter meetings of municipal officials that they did not call annual conferences or conventions. All forty-nine

made advocacy of municipal interests in both state and federal legislation a major priority. And all forty-nine issued regular publications as part of their membership communications. All had staff capacity for information exchange and survey research, although in widely varying degrees.

But as the new century begins, the differences among the leagues become striking, and they appear to be widening.

About one fourth of the leagues limit the scope of their activities to legislative advocacy, research and information exchange, publications, and meetings — conferences, conventions, training workshops.

The other three-fourths are involved in activities as diverse as codifying ordinances and recruitment and testing of personnel for municipal positions to managing investment of municipal funds, collecting certain taxes and other revenues for municipalities, making loans to municipalities for infrastructure and equipment purchase or lease, and most recently, aggregating purchases of electric and gas utility services.

In preparation for their 1990 annual summer workshop, league directors were asked to forecast likely changes for their leagues over the final decade of the century. Most projected continued development and improvement of services to members financed from nondues income; only a handful foresaw league programs expanding with an increase in dues. Several used the word "entrepreneurial" in their plans. Their projections made in 1990 have been borne out by 1999.

State league dues income as a percentage of total league spending dropped for all leagues during the 1990s. And for those already least dependent on dues income, it dropped even further.

The table on the next page shows the five leagues most dependent on dues income (highest percentage of dues to total income) and the leagues least dependent on dues income (lowest percentage of dues to total income) for 1989 and 1999.

At the end of the century, state league budgets and staffs bear no particular relationship to size of state, geography, population, number of years of league operation, or number of municipal members. Their financial resources now vary from the smallest league budget of about $81,000 per year to the largest of $14.7 million. In 1999, thirty-nine of

Leagues most dependent on dues income

State League	1989 Dues as % Of Total Income	1999 Dues as % Of Total Income
Delaware	96.8 %	
Wyoming	85	
Ohio	77	
Colorado	76	
Indiana	70.9	
Rhode Island		81 %
Colorado		70
New York		65
Delaware		64
Arizona		63

Leagues least dependent on dues income

State League	1989 Dues as % Of Total Income	1999 Dues as % Of Total Income
Maine	28.7 %	
South Carolina	25	
New Mexico	23	
Kentucky	17	
Florida	8.8	
Georgia		13.7 %
Arkansas		11
South Carolina		11
Kentucky		6
Florida		4

the forty-nine state leagues have budgets of more than $1 million annually, with sixteen of these exceeding $2 million. Ten years earlier, in 1989, only eighteen leagues had budgets of more than $1 million.

State league staff size now varies from one full-time-equivalent staff position in the smallest league to 150 in the largest, with the median staff size being 16. The two largest leagues, Florida and Connecticut, now employ 284 persons, more than the total employees of all leagues in 1955 when leagues employed 251 persons, 81 of them part time. The

six largest leagues now employ about the same number as all leagues employed in 1980. The eight largest leagues (Florida, Connecticut, Maine, North Carolina, Minnesota, Georgia, Michigan and California) employ more than half of all league employees

The five largest league budgets in 1999 were Florida, $14,745,000; Georgia, $13,730,300; Connecticut, $10,684,263; North Carolina, $8,021,355; and Kentucky, $7,949,940.

The five largest state league staffs in 1999 were Florida, 150; Connecticut, 135; Maine, 93; North Carolina, 79; and Minnesota, 73.5.

As was the case throughout the century, leagues in each state developed differently at different times because of differences in resources, leadership, public attitudes about local government, geography and state traditions. State leagues are as different as they are alike, and efforts to compare them in effectiveness produce no useful results. The National Municipal League may have designated California as the model league in 1912, but there is no one league model at the end of the 20th century.

State Leagues in a Changing Nation . . .
The 1990s
U. S. Population in 1990: 248,718,301
Est. Population in 1998: 270,298.524
Per Cent Urban in 1990: 75.2
Next Estimate of Per Cent Urban
After 2000 Census

How will state municipal leagues develop further and change in the next century? No clear pattern emerges as a basis for making predictions, except that each will develop differently in response to local events, tempered by developments on the national scene that are difficult to foresee.

But leagues have over the years generally attracted highly dedicated municipal official and staff leadership, persons interested in the success of municipal governments and committed to strengthening municipal government performance, role and stature in the country's intergovernmental system. Throughout their first century state municipal leagues have worked together, supported one another, learned from each other,

cooperated closely, and freely helped one another get new programs started with a high degree of collegiality.

That quality of dedicated leadership and willingness to work together and help one another seems likely to continue, even as leagues go their very separate ways.

Reflections

In these personal reflections, ten retired state league directors offer some insights on how they happened to get into league work, the milestones for their leagues during their careers, their personal satisfactions in their league careers, and the frustrations and disappointments of their league work. Five of these retired directors also served their leagues in capacities other than league director, another three served with another league before becoming director of the league from which they retired.

The comments here come from telephone interviews during May, June, and July of 1999.

These are the persons who were interviewed:

- Richard Carpenter, Executive Director, League of California Cities, 1954-1973.
- John P. Coleman, Executive Director, Ohio Municipal League, 1956-1994.
- John J. DeBolske, Executive Director, League of Arizona Cities and Towns, 1957-1997.
- Robert E. Fryer, Executive Director, Michigan Municipal League, 1963-1976.
- W. Elmer George, Executive Director, Georgia Municipal Association, 1957-1983.
- Ed Johnson, Executive Director, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, 1955-1984, and Executive Director, Maryland Municipal League, 1952-1955.

- E. A. Mosher, Executive Director, League of Kansas Municipalities, 1960-1991.
- Raymond C. Sittig, Executive Director, Florida League of Cities, 1970-1996.
- John F. Watkins, Executive Director, Alabama League of Municipalities, 1965-1986.
- S. Leigh Wilson, Executive Director, North Carolina League of Municipalities, 1969-1986.

The decision to limit the interviews to ten persons was not an easy one. A number of other persons have retired from state leagues after long and distinguished service as executive directors. The decision to limit these interviews to ten was made in the interest of keeping the project a manageable size.

Richard 'Bud' Carpenter

Executive Director League of California Cities, 1954-1973
League of California Cities Staff, 1939-1990

Richard Carpenter, known to all his colleagues as "Bud," joined the staff of the League of California Cities in 1939, just out of law school, as assistant legal counsel. He had become acquainted with the San Francisco city attorney, who was active in the league (and later became league president), and who knew that the league's attorney, located in southern California, wanted to have an assistant in the league's Berkeley office to help with legislation, legal inquiries, and legal research. Carpenter was attracted to the league because he thought it would provide opportunities for changing state laws, something he became interested in through work on a drunk driving case while serving in a private law office.

Carpenter's first league experience involved spending several months in the league attorney's office in Los Angeles, studying all the opinions written during seven years in response to questions from city attorneys. It quickly gave him a grasp of municipal law in California. The league was also at that time implementing its regional structure, developed out of the league's internal structural crisis in 1932, as a means of getting more elected official involvement in league affairs. This provided on-

the-job training for Carpenter as he traveled around the state speaking to countless league regional meetings.

Carpenter says he liked working for the league from the start. During the years of World War II, Carpenter and one other person, the editor of *Western City,* were at times the only league staff remaining as the executive director and others took leaves of absence to become involved in various war emergency activities. Carpenter became the league's general counsel in 1946.

For the first ten years of his league career, Carpenter saw no reason to pursue other opportunities. He enjoyed working with local officials and working on legislation. In the early 1950s he had two opportunities to leave, one to set up a private practice with a longtime friend, and the other to represent a large private bus company on the west coast. Both opportunities were tempting, especially financially, but Carpenter chose to stay with the league.

When the league's executive director resigned to run for governor of California in 1954, Carpenter was named executive director, the position he held until 1973. After retiring as executive director, he served the league in two more capacities — as the league's director of legislative affairs for two years, and last as the league's director of municipal employee relations.

Carpenter counts as milestones for the league during his tenure as executive director the league's leadership and support on a group of policy initiatives: environmental initiatives, particularly the state's water pollution control program; the opening up of the California Public Employee Retirement System to cities so that their employees could be covered under an actuarially-sound system, and the package of programs that built the cities' strong revenue base, especially the local sales tax, the local cigarette tax, the increase in the state's motor vehicle in lieu tax program, and local participation in state highway revenues.

The other major milestone, in Carpenter's opinion, was establishing the league's Committee on the Future in 1961, which gave the league a leadership role in anticipating issues for California cities.

The low point in his time with the league was adoption in 1978 of Proposition 13, the property tax limitation initiative that started a pro-

cess of undermining home rule for California cities and sapping the cities' financial strength and independence that had been carefully built over the previous decades. He thinks Proposition 13 was approved because the league and others had been so successful in the legislature in blocking a property tax cap.

Carpenter's greatest satisfactions over his league career are three: the ongoing close associations with local elected officials, whom he has found as a group to be dedicated, ethical persons serving their communities with little or no financial compensation and often at personal cost; the high quality professional staff that the California league built over the years; and honorary life memberships in International City/County Management Association and National Institute of Municipal Law Officers.

His greatest frustration over the years: local officials' proclivity for protecting their communities' local self-interest in ways that undermine or destroy it in the long run. As examples he cites competitive territorial grabs by annexing for short-term financial gain, and cities' competition with one another for industrial development through tax giveaways and incentives that in the long run undermine sound local government policy.

When Carpenter retired in 1990, his work with the League of California Cities had spanned fifty-one years, the longest period of service in state league history.

John P. Coleman

Executive Director Ohio Municipal League, 1956-1994

When John Coleman became the executive director of the Ohio Municipal League in March 1956, he was only the second full-time league director in the history of the Ohio league. The league's first full-time director was hired in 1952 after a court decision cleared a long-standing legal roadblock to use of public funds to support the league and departed in 1955 at the time that the league had to defend itself again, this time against state legislation prohibiting payment of dues to support a league. Coleman had been assistant director of the Syracuse Governmental Research Bureau in Syracuse, New York, a group monitoring public spending in local governments in the area on behalf of various business and other interests. Except for what he had learned in his graduate work at Michigan State University, Coleman knew little about state leagues. He recalls that had he received the phone call offering him the Ohio league job an hour later, he probably would have accepted a position in the federal government in Washington, D.C., which he was offered less than an hour after he received the league's phone call.

Coleman says he found himself on a fast track just in getting Ohio's infant league (the staff was just five persons) up and running at a level

already achieved by the older leagues, but he also recalls fondly how much he learned from the other leagues directors.

He found that one of his first challenges was to mend fences with legislators, business groups and labor unions who had been offended by the league's aggressive opposition in prior years to almost every issue in which the other groups had an interest. But Coleman found that he liked the job, especially the variety of activity, from the beginning. Although some job opportunities came his way later on, he never really seriously considered leaving the league.

Among career milestones for Coleman were the league's roles in state revenue sharing, annexation and new incorporations, the state's labor relations statutes, a statewide police and fire pension system, allocation of moneys from the state's local government infrastructure bond issue, and the municipal income tax. In several cases, the league's contribution was keeping peace within municipal ranks and avoiding divisions within the league. In others, it was staving off opposition of other groups that threatened basic programs.

The league successfully lobbied for the state's Local Government Fund to receive a set percentage of various state revenues, replacing annual appropriations, and was able to get various court cases on allocation disputes among local governments resolved in a way to avoid splits among local governments themselves on the allocation formula. The league was able to hold off various legislative proposals that threatened the basic home rule authority of cities to levy an income tax, including proposals from suburban city and fringe area interests seeking special exemptions or treatment of income earned by nonresidents.

When state legislative leaders sought help from the league in establishing a process other than statewide competition for allocating funds from the state's local government infrastructure bonds, the league was able to develop consensus among local governments on a process that had local governments themselves rank priorities on an area-wide basis.

When the state enacted its labor relations bill, the league could not get relief from binding arbitration for police and fire employees but was able to shape the bill in several other ways that made it more workable from a local government standpoint.

And the league was able to develop legislation establishing a statewide police and fire pension fund, replacing some four hundred local pension funds, most of which were actuarially unsound, and many of which were close to bankruptcy. The league had to cope with local police and fire and public official opposition to requiring local governments to contribute their share according to actuarially determined analysis.

Coleman says that much of the ongoing work of the league involves protection of some of these victories from continuing attack in the legislature and maintaining sufficient support among local officials to maintain the hard-fought victories of previous decades as new challenges, especially the funding of education, come to the surface.

Coleman has two frustrations as he looks back over his league career. One has been his inability to find a way for very small and inactive municipalities to go out of existence peacefully and quietly. He was never able to develop support for doing away with very small, obsolete municipalities that he believes complicate and detract from dealing with issues of the major, active municipalities.

The other is the spread of term limits for local officials and for state legislators. He believes that the very nature of term limits dictates a rather narrow and short term approach to governance. The end result is that building leadership at the state and local level is made much more difficult.

Coleman's greatest satisfaction from his league career is that he thinks the league made a great difference in how local government functions and is financed in Ohio and in how local government officials come to see the benefits of cooperation through the league.

Coleman retired in August 1994, having served thirty-eight years as executive director of the Ohio Municipal League.

John J. Debolske

Executive Director League of Arizona Cities and Towns, 1957-1997
Colorado Municipal League Staff, 1955-1957

John J. DeBolske, known to colleagues as "Jack," had no knowledge of state leagues or of Colorado local government when he applied for his first state league job in 1955 as staff associate for the Colorado Municipal League. He had been working for the Los Angeles County Flood Control District for two years, his first job after completing his graduate degree at UCLA. He recalls immediately enjoying the travel around the state to promote league membership, a high priority as the league was severing its longtime ties with the University of Colorado and becoming an independent organization. Two years later he responded to an advertisement for director of the Arizona league, not knowing anything about local government in that state but wanting to try his hand as a league director. He got the job. He was the first full time league director, and the only other staff member was a secretary.

DeBolske set about building the Arizona league's service programs, using his Colorado experience as a model, but found that the Arizona league had neither the university connections nor the involvement of city managers in league activities that he had experienced in Colorado. He first efforts were to build information resources, conduct surveys

and issue publications. He added another staff member as soon as the league's tight budget would allow; the league's annual budget was $21,800 when he arrived.

A first major milestone for DeBolske was the league's decision to use the initiative process in 1960 to secure an increase in the cities' share of state sales tax revenues. The league had just lost legislation to provide the increase. DeBolske personally orchestrated the initiative campaign, distributing petitions to city officials with a quota for signatures and collecting more than sixty thousand signatures to get the measure on the November ballot. He gave speeches, issued press releases, provided cities with materials to promote passage, prepared and distributed bumper stickers and other materials, and did everything else he could think of to get voter approval. The measure passed 39,473 to 11,603.

DeBolske directed a second initiative campaign in the 1970s. This one sought the earmarking of 15 per cent of the state's income tax for municipalities, and the initiative process was used again after legislation died at the close of the session. Once again voters approved the measure, and while legislators were angry at the league for bypassing the legislative process, as they had been after the sales tax initiative, they again took no formal retaliatory action. The league used the legislative process to increase highway revenues for municipalities, and DeBolske is proud of the strong municipal financial base built during the years he served the league.

DeBolske was involved in two other activities not common to most leagues, and both were milestones for him in his career.

The first came in the late 1960s when the federal government mandated metropolitan area-wide planning for most federal assistance programs and provided funds that supported regional councils of governments as metropolitan planning agencies. DeBolske decided to put on a second hat and became the executive director of the Maricopa Association of Governments (MAG), the metropolitan area planning organization for the Phoenix area, which accounted for more than half of Arizona's population. He served in the dual capacity of league director and COG director until the late 1990s. He built a league staff of ten persons, five of whom worked full-time on league activities, the others

assisting with MAG activities. He also supervised another thirty-five to forty state and county government employees assigned to work on MAG projects. He saw his dual role as helping avoid duplication, overlap, and competition between the league and the council of governments in the state's dominant metropolitan area.

A second milestone for DeBolske was his role in developing the state's groundwater management plan, a requirement for federal approval of the Central Arizona Project, which helped meet the state's growing water needs. DeBolske was the municipalities' lead negotiator in four years of intense negotiations with all the parties at interest in state water resources, including farmers, mining interests, and federal and state officials. He describes it as "a tumultuous time."

Two other career highlights were the development of the league liability pool, which opened in 1987, and the development of the league's headquarters building just steps away from the state capitol. He says the building gave the league "stature and permanence, an organization to be taken seriously." He recalls inviting legislators to lunch at the league office with their own local officials, an effective occasion for promoting the league's legislative program.

DeBolske's frustrations in league work included the lack of support for the league's legislative program from urban area legislators, "persons who should have been on our side but felt they knew more than local officials about urban area needs." He is also concerned with what he sees as a new breed of local officials, more parochial and more competitive with each other over such issues as economic development and annexation, making it harder for cities to cooperate and making it more difficult to build consensus and support on a statewide basis for league programs benefiting all municipalities.

DeBolske looks back on "a great career, a lot of fun. There was never a dull moment, always a new challenge, always a new hill to climb." He never seriously considered leaving the Arizona league, although offers did come his way. And he says a secret to his success was that "I hired people smarter than me to work on my staff."

When DeBolske retired in 1997, his league career had spanned forty-two years, and his forty years with the Arizona league was the second longest tenure as a director in league history.

Robert E. Fryer

Executive Director Michigan Municipal League, 1963-1976
Assistant Director and General Counsel, 1952-1963

Bob Fryer had completed his law degree and was working on his master's degree in public administration at the University of Michigan in 1947 when he first came in contact with the Michigan Municipal League. As part of a fellowship where he was studying at the University's then Institute of Public Administration, he was assigned to work with the Michigan Municipal League on annexation, and served as staff for the league's committee on annexation. When he completed his M.P.A. and was setting up a private law practice in Ann Arbor, he took a position as league staff attorney on a part time basis. The country's military action in Korea soon interfered with his career plans, however, when he was called back to active duty as a lieutenant colonel in the U. S. Air Force. When he returned to civilian life again in 1951, he accepted the offer of the Michigan league executive director to join the league staff as assistant director and general counsel for a time while he decided whether to try to reestablish his law practice. He ended up staying with the league for the next twenty-five years.

When Fryer took the position of assistant director and general counsel in 1951, the Michigan Municipal League was trying to rebuild from

the effects of the so-called Kalamazoo case. Firefighter organizations had sued Kalamazoo, challenging the city's payment of league dues, based on the league's opposition to firefighter benefits legislation. The circuit court upheld the city's payment of league dues, but in 1945 enjoined the league from any state legislative activity, almost putting the league out of business. The Michigan Supreme Court lifted the injunction in 1947 when it upheld legality of league dues payments, but the period of legislative inactivity "hurt the league no end," says Fryer. The league was without an executive director for more than a year, key staff departed, and membership dropped sharply. It was a crisis for the league, which needed to rebuild its credibility with the legislature and with its own membership.

The addition of Fryer doubled (from one to two) the number of league staff working on legislation. The league achieved an important immediate victory with passage in 1951 of a state gasoline tax increase and a commercial weight tax, along with an increase in the municipal share of these revenues. This helped dampen an effort of the state's largest cities to organize a separate group to achieve large city legislative goals; officials of large cities decided instead to work with the league, and the large city group did not get off the ground.

The league also embarked on a membership building program. It added a new field representative position to the staff and established regional organizations to bolster interest and opportunities for participation in the league. Fryer personally set about working with city attorneys and city managers especially but also with other key groups of city officials to make them feel more a part of the league and to invite their contributions and participation.

The league continued to rebuild its credibility with the legislature and with league members by working on a number of key policy issues over the next several years — annexation, sharing of the state income tax, distribution of intangibles tax revenues, and the city income tax.

Among several milestones for the league and for Fryer personally was the Michigan Constitutional Convention approved by voters in 1960. During its deliberations in 1961 and 1962, Fryer was the league's registered lobbyist for the convention, working closely with a number of city

officials who had been encouraged by the league to serve as convention delegates. The league was successful: Michigan voters approved expanding home rule for municipalities as well as the new constitution in 1963.

Fryer became league director in 1963, when his predecessor died unexpectedly in office. Having worked closely with his predecessor on rebuilding the league, Fryer moved quickly into the director's position, once again putting aside thoughts of establishing a law practice or municipal bond counsel practice. He says his decision had to do more with people than position. "Early on," he says, "I was impressed with the fact that so many city and village officials were willing to devote so much personal time to municipal affairs with little thought of personal gain and for mostly token compensation. I was further surprised that so many of them were willing to spend so much additional time on league business. My decision as to my career was about helping these officials make municipal government in Michigan better. I tried, with the very important help of my wife, Lee, to encourage spouses of officials to participate in league activities in an effort to create a family atmosphere around the work of the league, and she was recognized with her own retirement party at the time of my retirement." He believes the personal touch was important to his league work.

Development of a new headquarters office for the league and the opening of a new State Affairs Division office in Lansing, the state's capital, were milestones for Fryer. The need for a larger league headquarters office at a location more convenient for municipal officials had become apparent during the 1950s and 1960s. But a major debate developed within the membership over whether to relocate the league headquarters to Lansing or remain in Ann Arbor closer to a large number of member municipalities concentrated in the greater Detroit metropolitan area of southeast Michigan. By remaining in Ann Arbor, the league could also better continue its long-standing working relationship with the University of Michigan. Fryer was able to work with the University to obtain a site in Ann Arbor in the new north campus area convenient to interstate highways serving both Lansing and the Detroit area, and the league developed its new headquarters building

there, which opened in 1971. A surcharge on league dues for the duration of the building mortgage financed the new building. At the same time, the league established a new State Affairs Division office in Lansing, which opened in 1967.

Adequate funding for the league itself was another milestone for Fryer. The league had long been hampered by inadequate revenues from its dues schedule based on population. The league's constitution required membership approval of each dues increase, and each increase became an issue consuming great amounts of staff and board time and energy. With the league's success in achieving greater state revenue sharing, Fryer devised a new dues formula based on a percentage of state-shared revenues. It was approved in 1973-74, and resulted in regular increases in league dues income as state-shared revenues continued to increase.

One of Fryer's greatest pleasures was his work with the state association of municipal attorneys. From the start he worked to reinvigorate and build the group on grounds that attorneys, especially in the smaller communities, were and are extremely important officials who exert great influence over decisions of cities and villages. The Michigan Association of Municipal Attorneys was the first chartered sectional affiliate of the league and helped set up the league's Legal Defense Fund to provide financial assistance to cities involved in litigation of statewide significance. It also gained formal recognition from the state bar association. Fryer also made a personal commitment to work closely with the city managers of the state, and is especially proud of his honorary life memberships in both the Michigan City Management Association and International City/County Management Association (ICMA). He was pleased to be similarly honored by the state's finance officers with an honorary life membership in their association. Fryer says that making all department heads and key officials feel more a part of the league was one of his greatest sources of satisfaction during his tenure.

His primary frustration was the inability of the league to make much headway on the lack of public understanding of what local government is all about — how it functions, what it requires in terms of citizen par-

ticipation, and how well it serves citizens. He regrets that the league did not have financial resources to do more in this area.

But he is glad that he stayed with the league rather than rebuild his private law practice after military service or accept a later offer to help set up a municipal bond counsel practice, which undoubtedly would have been more lucrative. He felt his work with the league gave him the chance "in some small way" to contribute to the betterment of the state and build stronger city and village government.

When Fryer retired in 1976, his league career had spanned twenty-six years, thirteen of them as executive director.

W. Elmer George

Executive Director, Georgia Municipal Association, 1957-1983

When Elmer George became city manager of Griffin, Georgia, in 1952, one of his immediate responsibilities was to host the annual meeting of Georgia Municipal Association in his city. After his success in organizing fund-raising, housing, logistics, and other convention activities, he was asked to serve on the GMA board of directors. On the GMA board, he soon joined with others interested in a major reorganization of the association. At that point, GMA had only 164 of the state's approximately 500 municipalities as members, a budget of less than $50,000, a two-person staff consisting of an executive director and a secretary, and "little or no credibility with the legislature."

The board developed a reorganization plan over the next few years, which was ready for implementation in 1957 when the GMA executive director died unexpectedly in office. The GMA board asked George to take the director's job, saying he had worked on the reorganization plan and was "the only one hardheaded, thick-skinned and stupid enough" to fill the position. George said he had become intrigued with all the possibilities for activating "a latent force of 2,100 elected officials and all their professional staffs that was lying there dormant." He had been planning to leave city government and go into private business in Grif-

fin, but became so intrigued with possibilities for GMA that he decided to forego the business opportunity and become GMA director at a salary equal to his city manager's salary.

George set out on three fronts to build the league. His first front was within the league itself. He pursued the internal league reorganization developed by the board, including a policy process modeled along NLC's new policy process, and expanded opportunities for city official participation in the league. League district organizations were set up along Congressional district lines.

His second front was the media. He talked with reporters and editorial boards about the need for strong municipal governments to meet Georgia's challenges in accommodating the migration of many residents from rural areas to urban areas and handling the economic growth coming to the South.

His third front was business. He went to the corporate sector for political support for several legislative initiatives, and obtained corporate funding for several research reports that underlined the need for stronger, better-financed local government as part of state economic development. "We needed to build awareness in the legislature and among the public that cities had to have resources to build efficiency to handle growth."

After legislative reapportionment followed the *Baker v. Carr* decision, George succeeded in having the Georgia legislature organize an urban caucus to help offset the strong rural influence based on the old county unit system.

He worked on improving both home rule authority and the financial resources available to Georgia municipalities, succeeding with passage of "Amendment 19" in 1972, which broadened local ordinance authority, and 1975 legislation that authorized local option sales taxes and hotel-motel taxes.

He lobbied for changes in the administration of the property tax including uniformity of assessments, and highlighted the issue of double taxation of urban resident for municipal services provided both inside and outside municipal boundaries. And he pushed for authority and re-

sponsibility for planning at the local, substate regional, and state levels; in effect, he "saturated the state with planning."

George also felt that attention should be paid to working conditions for municipal employees, arguing that better pay and better benefits would raise the quality of municipal employees and the performance of municipal government. Milestones for him in this effort were laws in the early 1970s authorizing GMA to set up a health benefits program for municipal employees and a retirement system known as JMERS for municipal employees, making Georgia one of the first states to establish league pools in these areas. And he worked for legislation allowing Georgia to set up a league workers compensation pool that opened in 1982.

George feels one of his greatest personal satisfactions from league work is having achieved his goal of helping to elevate Georgia's stature among the states and its ranking in such measures as per capita income by relating state economic growth to strengthening of municipal government. He is impressed by how well city officials stayed together over the years he was director, working together without internal disagreements to improve the position of city governments of all sizes in all parts of the state.

His other great sense of personal satisfaction comes from his association with the GMA staff. "I'm proud of the staff we developed," says George.

To the extent he has any regrets or frustrations, it is that "I tried to do too much with too little," and he feels he sometimes fell short of accomplishing everything he wanted to accomplish.

George retired in 1983 after twenty-six years as GMA director.

Ed Johnson

Executive Director League of Wisconsin Municipalities, 1955-1984
Executive Director Maryland Municipal League, 1952-1955

Ed Johnson first learned about state municipal leagues while attending the University of Maryland. After graduation he was the assistant director of the Bureau of Public Administration at the University of Mississippi and then took his first job as a city manager. But when the dean of extension at University of Maryland, who had reactivated the Maryland Municipal League and was serving as part time league director, invited Johnson to come back to succeed him as Maryland league director, he came back to Maryland, and served for three years before moving on to Wisconsin. He recalls one of the significant accomplishments of the Maryland league during that time was passage of the state's constitutional amendment granting home rule for cities.

Johnson was attracted to the Wisconsin position because of that league's reputation for having strong legislative and research and information programs as well as being one of the oldest leagues.

Johnson chose to concentrate his energies on the league's legislative program, and remained personally involved in day-to-day legislative activity throughout his career. Two pieces of legislation he recalls as milestones. One was a requirement that the state pay local governments

for services provided to state institutions and facilities, one of the first measures of its kind. The other was a constitutional amendment abolishing the requirement for a jury to approve local government condemnation of land for public purposes. Much of the league's activity over the years involved preventing bad legislation from passing.

Labor relations issues occupied much of Johnson's legislative attention as public employee unions pressed their case with the legislature in the 1960s and 1970s. Wisconsin became one of the first states in the nation to provide for recognition of employee unions for bargaining purposes. One of Johnson's disappointments is that the legislature ultimately required compulsory binding arbitration for settlement of municipal labor disputes. The other big legislative disappointment was the legislature's decision to change the state program of sharing income tax revenues with cities from a statutory formula to an annual appropriation, subject to competition with education, prisons, and other state programs.

In the 1970s, a group of approximately fifteen larger cities organized the Alliance of Cities in response to the personal interests of larger city mayors. It attempted to become the advocacy organization for this smaller group, and still exists today. It did not cost the league any members, and Johnson says that on reflection, he doesn't think its existence has hurt the league. But it has become a widely-quoted source for the press on municipal issues despite its relatively smaller number of members.

Johnson "took the conservative approach" when many leagues were building staffs by administering various federal programs during the 1960s and 1970s and building insurance programs during the 1980s. He believed the league should remain primarily a legislative advocate for municipalities as well as provide information and research services. The Wisconsin league added only two professional staff positions during his tenure as league director.

The American Municipal Association (later the National League of Cities) played a large role in the growth and development of state leagues, Johnson says. He doubts that individual leagues would have been as successful without the coordination and assistance they re-

ceived from the national organization. While Johnson thinks leagues are clearly here to stay, he worries that they may have less clout than they once did. Some of this is due to changes in the makeup of legislatures, and he is especially concerned about the impact of campaign contributions on how legislators act. He notes that the Wisconsin league never entertained legislators nor contributed to campaigns.

Johnson says he found league work to his liking from the start, and he never seriously considered changing careers even when offers came his way. Johnson received personal satisfaction from knowing that local officials in his state liked what he was doing on their behalf. He says he "never asked for a raise, but got one every year," which suggested to him they appreciated his efforts. When he retired in 1984, Johnson's league career had spanned thirty-two years.

E. A. Mosher

Executive Director League of Kansas Municipalities, 1960-1991
League of Wisconsin Municipalities Staff, 1952-1960

E.A. "Ernie" Mosher began his league career in 1952 when he went to work as assistant director for the League of Wisconsin Municipalities. He had enjoyed working part-time for the league in 1948 and 1949 while he was a student at the University of Wisconsin. After he received his degree, he attended graduate school in the Detroit area and then worked for a taxpayer association for two years back in Madison, Wisconsin, before taking the position with the Wisconsin league. When the Kansas league director position opened up in 1960, he considered it an opportunity to put his interest and experience to use in an executive director position

When Mosher arrived in Kansas, he felt he had assumed responsibility for a league program with a strong tradition of research and information. He saw his role as continuing these programs but also building the league's capacity for statewide municipal policy leadership. "You have to have a good service program — research, publications, training — for city officials to feel ownership and interest in the league before they will want to work on policy. I don't think you could keep a league together based on policy and lobbying as its only purpose," he says.

One of Mosher's first tasks when he arrived in Kansas was to win public support for the league-proposed home rule constitutional amendment on the 1960 ballot. He did it successfully. "Local government can function only if it has [legal] power and money," he says. And on the money issue, he worked during the 1960s and 1970s to build local fiscal resources through increased state shares of highway and other revenues and a local sales tax option as well as reorganization of state aid programs. The climate for increasing state-shared revenues was better then than now, he notes.

Mosher also takes great satisfaction from his role in establishing the Kansas Public Employees Retirement System. Before the system was established, neither state nor local employees in Kansas had any retirement coverage other than Social Security. Mosher served as secretary for the coalition of groups that pushed for the state system and as principal lobbyist on the bill. He thinks of it as a high point in his career.

Mosher believes league support for professional local government management through the league's conferences, training schools, research and publications, and through cooperation with affiliate groups, is essential to building league capacity for policy leadership. Mosher notes with satisfaction that virtually all Kansas municipalities with populations over 3,000 now have professional managers or administrators, compared to about fifteen when he arrived. He says professional management frees up local elected officials to concentrate on policy and governance and attracts a different kind of person to serve on local governing bodies.

Mosher oversaw league staff expansion in the late 1960s and early 1970s under the influence of federal funds available for community development technical assistance, urban planning, personnel assistance and human resources planning. But in the mid-1970s these activities were phased out and there was league retrenchment back to those programs that could be funded from local resources. "I have struggled with that issue [of how much to develop outside-funded programs]," says Mosher, "but I believe in self-sufficiency." The Kansas league staff dropped back in size by the end of the 1970s from its high point in the late 1960s, and Mosher deliberately refrained from more special service

programs outside the basic league framework of policy and lobbying, research, information, publications, and training conferences and meetings.

A great challenge for leagues, says Mosher, is dealing with state governments, which have become "much more significant in my lifetime." He says more legislative staff, more formalization of process, and more attention to politics and polling all have made legislators look differently at things, including local government. Devolution of federal responsibility to states has added to this changing role of state government. He sees leagues as having important responsibility for maintaining the intergovernmental balance where local governments are true partners, not second-class subordinates, with ever more powerful states.

One of his great frustrations has been the ongoing problem of local official turnover. "You work to develop local officials as public leaders, and bang! — they're gone," he laments. He has enjoyed the working relationships and personal friendships with countless local leaders, but has found it frustrating to lose these relationships as people leave office.

Perhaps the biggest disappointment of Mosher's career was his inability to stop the property tax lid adopted by Kansas in the aftermath of California's Proposition 13 tax revolt, although he notes with pleasure that the Kansas limitation has now been repealed.

What is his feeling about his league career? "I believe that cities are important to people, and if you help cities, you help people. I'd like to think I made a difference, in how our cities function, in the quality of local government, in public acceptance of and respect for local government." And he looks back without ever having wished that he had tried to do something other than league work. "From the beginning, it was a perfect fit for me."

When Mosher retired in 1991, his career with the Wisconsin and Kansas leagues spanned more than thirty-nine years.

Raymond C. Sittig

Executive Director Florida League of Cities, 1970-1996
Florida League of Cities Staff, 1959-1996

When Ray Sittig joined the Florida League of Municipalities staff in 1959 as Executive Assistant, he became the fourth full time league staff member. The staff had slowly increased to 10 when he became Executive Director in September 1970. When he retired twenty-six years later, there were 125 persons on the league staff.

League work was not really what Sittig had in mind. He recalls dinner table conversations during his childhood in Michigan about politics and politicians, some of it not very complimentary, and then his classroom experiences, which painted quite a different picture of the virtues of this nation's governmental system. He decided he wanted to get directly involved, probably by going to law school, becoming an attorney, and getting elected to public office. His education was interrupted on two occasions by military service, and he decided instead to become a city manager and got his first job as assistant city manager in Grand Rapids, Michigan. When the manager resigned, Sittig felt he should move on and applied for various city manager positions, including one in Florida. He got an unexpected call from the then league director in Florida saying he'd seen Sittig's application and asking if he'd consider

a job with the league. Sittig replied that league work was not his career goal, and didn't think it worth the time and expense of an interview, but the league director, who argued that he could be helping a lot of cities, not just one city, by working for the league, prevailed. Besides, Sittig says, he had a family to feed and needed a job, and none of the manager applications had gotten a positive response.

He found out that the title of executive assistant meant doing a little of everything. He found himself responsible for publishing the league magazine, for example, as well as traveling to meetings, lobbying, and research. He recalls going to his first meeting of the state's city managers, and at what he thought would be an after-work social session with a small group of managers, he was presented a list of requests for projects deemed important to the state's city managers. He promised to look into all the requests, was able to respond positively to several, and thus began a close working relationship with managers who had felt some previous estrangement from the league.

He says he worked hardest at developing his lobbying skills during the late 1960s when the state created a constitutional revision commission. He virtually "lived with the commission" while dealing with several local government issues — home rule, revenue authority, annexation, state revenue sharing, and public employee collective bargaining. The commission's recommendations to the legislature included some good and some bad provisions from the cities' perspective, and he was able to get some changes made by the legislature before the new constitution was sent to voters, where it was approved. Legislation to implement the new constitution became a top priority just about the time that Sittig became executive director.

Sittig made four recommendations to his board upon becoming director during a time of internal financial difficulty for the league: change the name to Florida League of Cities, add a field consultant to the staff, raise dues 25 per cent, and move the league office from Jacksonville to the state's capital, Tallahassee. The board accepted all his recommendations, except that they doubled the dues increase from 25 per cent to 50 per cent. One of Sittig's first tasks was to borrow $30,000

from the bank to meet the payroll, the loan being based on income anticipated from the dues increase.

Three milestones come to mind when Sittig reviews his career as executive director. The first, and he thinks his most effective lobbying job, was the league's stand on tort liability legislation in the early 1970s. Cities, but not other Florida governments, had lost sovereign immunity pretty much across the board with various court decisions. He was able to get cities on a par with other governments with a statutory limit on tort liability awards.

The second was establishment of the worker's compensation pooling program in 1977, followed by liability pooling in 1979, health benefits in 1980, and property coverage in 1988. Sittig said he had very little knowledge of municipal insurance issues when a city manager suggested during a session at a league convention in the 1970s that the league should do something about the high cost and limited availability of insurance. He decided to proceed, with valuable guidance from the Texas league as the program was established. The league's pooling program became one of the largest in the country.

The third milestone was establishment of the league's bond pool in the late 1970s. It became the prototype for bond pools in several other states.

Sittig takes pride in the league's role in a number of legislative victories. These include a share of the sales tax for cities, a state revenue sharing formula, and the repeal of the state's prevailing wage laws. The state's "sunshine laws," including opening meetings, open records, and financial disclosure, he sees as having been inspired by desirable concepts but causing genuine hardships as they were implemented.

Sittig has two frustrations as he looks back. One was his inability to get his membership mobilized to the extent that they could exercise the clout that he believes they have. And a related frustration was his inability to stem what he sees as the disproportionate influence of public safety labor unions on key public policy issues in the state through their involvement in elections at the state and local level.

Sittig had opportunities to leave the league at various points during his career, some involving city management, and others involving lob-

bying for other interests. He says he had no interest in lobbying for other interests, and he chose to stay with the league rather than pursue his initial goal of city management because as his predecessor convinced him, you can help all the cities in league work.

Sittig is concerned about the future of cities, at least in his state. He sees pressure to reorganize and consolidate local governments, and the possible attraction of creating a few large consolidated city-county governments. He believes the public will not feel as close to the larger governments and will become more and more skeptical and disenchanted as decision making moves farther away from them.

As Sittig reflects on his league career, he says he has enjoyed lobbying the most of his varied experiences, although he ranks the startup of various entrepreneurial programs like the insurance pools and the bond pool as also stimulating and personally rewarding. He has gained great personal satisfaction from the many relationships established during his league career — with city officials in his state, with state league directors in other states, and with persons in state and federal government.

When he retired in October, 1996, Sittig's Florida league career had spanned thirty-seven years.

John F. Watkins

Executive Director Alabama League of Municipalities, 1965-1986
Alabama League of Municipalities Staff, 1956-1986

John Watkins joined the staff of the Alabama League of Municipalities as staff attorney in November 1956. He was the league's first full-time staff attorney and one of three full-time league staff members, the other two being the then executive secretary and a secretary. Watkins had just resigned as city manager of Prattville, Alabama, where he had also previously been city recorder (and municipal judge) as well as in private law practice. When the executive secretary (re-titled executive director) died in office in July 1965, Watkins was named executive director.

When he joined the league, one of his major responsibilities was advising municipalities on how to comply with the state's election laws, which with their many attorney general opinions and court rulings, were, he recalls, "a mess, a real hodgepodge." One of his biggest accomplishments while staff attorney was a complete rewrite of the election laws for municipalities.

Watkins recalls the years of the civil rights movement during the late 1950s and into the 1960s as years of great political and social change in Alabama and other southern states. The U.S. Supreme Court reapportionment decision in 1962 in *Baker v. Carr* and the Voting Rights Act

of 1965 caused major changes in government in Alabama, he says.

Watkins saw the league's role as keeping municipal officials informed about these changes and about how to live with new federal requirements whether or not they personally agreed with them. He also found it opened up new opportunities for progress on municipal issues in the state legislature. The league took advantage of this opportunity to secure a share of state gas tax revenues for municipalities in the mid-1960s, the first major victory for the league following reapportionment.

A second milestone for the league during Watkins' career was the preservation of municipal courts in the face of sweeping court reorganization in the early 1970s. A plan to abolish municipal courts in favor of district courts almost made it to the ballot, but the league was successful at the last minute in securing amendments to preserve the right of municipalities to maintain a municipal court if they so chose, but to have the option of going into the district court system. Voters approved the measure, including the league's amendments.

When municipalities were required in the mid-1970s to provide workers compensation benefits, either by joining the state system or self-insuring, the league established a workers compensation pool, one of the first of the state league pools when it began operations in November 1976. Watkins recalls the generous and invaluable advice and counsel of other leagues, especially Texas, in getting the Alabama program established. It was yet another example, Watkins notes, of how he always found leagues willing to work together, learn from one another, and support each other whatever the occasion.

He notes that the workers compensation program saved money for municipalities, the only real justification for the league getting into a non-legislative activity. Watkins generally opposed the league's involvement in anything that might give the league a conflict of interest and detract from the primary mission of representing municipal interests. He says he avoided putting the league in a position of depending on grants, corporate subsidies, partnerships with other institutions, or other outside funding so that the league would clearly be "not tainted" whenever speaking on behalf of Alabama's municipalities.

Watkins is pleased that the Alabama league became actively involved in a number of federal issues, specifically general revenue sharing, the Fair Labor Standards Act, and application of antitrust laws to municipal operations. He considers general revenue sharing as having been of more value to municipalities than any other federal program, and is pleased at the work of the Alabama league in building support to enact and retain revenue sharing as long as it lasted. His great disappointment is the number of costly mandates that came from the federal and the state governments during the 1960s and 1970s.

A major frustration for Watkins has been campaign finance. The increasing influence of political action committees "frightens the hell out of me," he says. He is concerned that the well-heeled PACs "have a head start" with state and federal legislators on a range of issues, giving them an advantage that can't be overcome by leagues or similar organizations supported from public funds.

Watkins' greatest satisfaction in his league career is the pleasure he felt from working with people who wanted and needed information, assistance, and support from the league and who genuinely appreciated what they got from the league. He recalls local officials telling him that they might not have stayed in office were it not for the league and the opportunities that league meetings offer for getting acquainted with peers and developing friendships and a feeling of camaraderie. Watkins says he found it a joy to work with local officials who see the value of joining together and cooperating with one another in service to their hometowns and who appreciate the league's role in making it happen.

When Watkins retired in 1986, his career with the Alabama league had spanned thirty years.

S. Leigh Wilson

Executive Director North Carolina League of Municipalities, 1969-1986
North Carolina League of Municipalities Staff, 1947-1986

Leigh Wilson joined the North Carolina League of Municipalities in 1947 as field consultant, soon after his discharge from the U. S. Army in 1946 at the end of World War II. He had been thinking about a career in city management and had been urged by a city manager friend to contact the league for leads on manager or assistant manager positions; but when he was offered a job on the league staff, he accepted it. That made him the league's third full-time employee; the other two were the executive secretary and a general counsel. In 1954 he was named Assistant Executive Director and in 1969, Executive Director. Though he considered offers later in his career to become a city manager, he ended up deciding that he enjoyed and preferred league work more. "I always looked forward to going to work in the morning," he says.

Wilson's work as field consultant involved consulting assignments for a number of municipalities. He was involved in preparing initial land use plans and zoning codes for more than one hundred North Carolina municipalities and also prepared annexation studies and utility extension policies for various municipalities. Growth was a major is-

sue for the state's municipalities in the postwar period. The North Carolina league expanded steadily during the course of Wilson's career, sometimes with help of funds from federal programs in the 1960s and 1970s, and the staff had grown to twenty-one persons when he retired.

Looking back on his league career, Wilson identifies three milestones.

The first was reached in 1951, when a fifteen-year struggle culminated in the passage of the state's Powell bill, which allocated a share of highway revenues to municipalities and broadened the state's responsibility for highways within corporate limits. What started out as $4.5 million annually for municipalities has grown to $123 annually. Wilson recalls that period as one of the times of greatest camaraderie and closeness among officials of the league.

A second milestone was passage of North Carolina's landmark annexation statute in 1959. The league proposed a study commission to the 1957 legislature to develop a solution to mounting annexation problems, then helped the commission develop the proposed statute based on the principle that areas that are urban should be municipal. The law was passed and became a model statute nationwide. The U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations included it for many years in its annual catalog of suggested state legislation dealing with urban problems.

The third milestone was development of the league's headquarters building near the state buildings complex in downtown Raleigh. Known as the Albert Coates Local Government Center and developed as a joint effort with the county association, it opened in 1979, and Wilson notes that the building was paid for at the time construction started. He says officials felt that "We finally have a permanent home for local government in the state capital. It brought local officials together, gave them a focal point."

Wilson recalls the steady and substantial expansion of the league's service using a variety of resources. The league established a purchasing service in the late 1950s. It began with a lawsuit by the league involving collusion among fire hose manufacturers. Out of that emerged the league's purchasing activity, including an agreement to market prod-

ucts manufactured by the state's prison industries. The league established its codification service, which it contracted to a private consultant, and a personnel service with a grant under the Intergovernmental Personnel Act.

Wilson notes two changes affecting the league that occurred over the course of his league service. First is the change in municipal issues from infrastructure needs in the late 1940s and 1950s to "people problems" in the 1970s and 1980s. The other is the change in working relationships with the state. Wilson believes that league relationships with various branches and agencies of state government have improved over the years and are marked by increasing mutual respect.

Wilson's greatest frustration was his inability to come up with an effective method of dealing with incorporation of municipalities whose primary purpose was to block orderly annexation by existing municipalities. The league proposed a constitutional amendment to the legislature providing for prohibition of new incorporations within fixed distances of existing municipalities, depending on size. The measure passed the House, but at the last minute the Senate adopted provisions for a three-fifths vote to override the prohibition, which effectively gutted the measure's effect. Wilson says defensive incorporations continue to be a problem for his state.

A personal frustration — "just a sideline," Wilson chuckles — was the difficulty in explaining to his children and others what he actually did for a living, a frustration he notes is shared by others in league work.

The greatest satisfaction Wilson experienced was working with and for municipal officials. It was summed up in a comment from a local official who once told Wilson that he had experience with lots of groups and associations, "but the thing that sets the North Carolina league apart is — the league cares."

When Wilson retired at the end of 1986, his career with the North Carolina league spanned just under forty years.

Appendix I

State League Directors

This is a roster of names of persons who have served as the chief administrative official of a state municipal league without regard to whether it was a full-time or a part-time position. In earlier years the position was frequently part-time and customarily referred to as secretary or secretary-treasurer or secretary-manager. Later in the 1920s and 1930s the title of executive secretary become more common, especially as more of the positions became full-time. Since the 1960s the title of executive director has become the most common title for a state league's chief administrative official.

Alabama	1918	George J. Davis
	1934 - 1935	M. L. Robertson
	1935 - 1965	Ed E. Reid
	1965 - 1986	John F. Watkins
	1986 -	Perry Roquemore
Alaska	1951	Arthur H. Rosien
	1951	Louis A. Weinbode
	1952	Mildred A. Kirkpatrick
	1953 - 1954	Victor Fischer
	1955	Mrs. C. J. Houscher (acting)
	1956 - 1961	Lucy Mick

	1961 - 1978	Don M. Berry
	1978	James Rolle
	1979 - 1984	Ginny Chitwood
	1984 - 1992	Scott A. Burgess
	1992 - 1994	Kent E. Swisher
	1994 -	Kevin C. Ritchie
Arizona	1932 - 1937	Joseph C. Furst
	1937 - 1940	James Girand
	1940 - 1944	George D. Locke
	1944 - 1954	Joseph C. Furst
	1954 - 1957	W. A. Mouer
	1957 - 1997	John J. DeBolske
	1998 -	Catherine F. Connolly
Arkansas	1934 - 1935	Dr. Kenneth O. Warner
	1935 - 1936	Spencer Allbright
	1936	Herbert Ogden
	1936 - 1937	Newman Walker
	1937 - 1940	William Hopson
	1940 - 1942	Henry Ritgerod (acting while director on military leave)
	1942 - 1974	Glenn G. Zimmerman
	1974 -	Don Zimmerman
California	1898 - 1909	Haven A. Mason
	1909 - 1932	William J. Locke
	1932	Gordon Whitnall
	1933	Earl Ruddy
	1934	J. W. Charleville
	1935 - 1954	Richard Graves
	1954 - 1973	Richard Carpenter
	1973 - 1998	Don Benninghoven
	1999 -	Christopher McKenzie

Colorado	1923 - 1942	Don C. Sowers
	1942 - 1944	Harold A. Storey
	1944 - 1946	D. Mack Easton
	1946 - 1947	Harold A. Storey
	1947 - 1948	Allen E. Pritchard
	1948 - 1949	D. Mack Easton
	1949 - 1954	William A. Grelle
	1954 - 1965	Jay T. Bell
	1965 - 1972	Richard D. MacRavey
	1972 - 1974	Curtis Blyth
	1974 -	Kenneth G. Bueche
Connecticut	1936	Henry Schenck
	1937 - 1938	Richard Martin
	1955	Edward J. Kelleher
	1956	Elbert H. Curtiss (League President)
	1969 -	Joel Cogen
Delaware	1965 - 1968	John V. Johnson
	1969 - 1970	Peter M. Ross
	1971 - 1972	David L. Press
	1972 - 1988	Leon deValinger
	1988 - 1991	Frederick N. Van Sant
	1991 -	George C. Wright, Jr.
Florida	1928 - 1946	E. P. Owen
	1947 - 1950	E. L. Cole
	1950 - 1970	Gordon T. Butler
	1970 - 1996	Raymond C. Sittig
	1996 -	Michael Sittig
Georgia	1934 - 1957	Zach Arnold
	1957 - 1983	W. Elmer George
	1983 - 1995	James V. Burgess, Jr.

	1996 -	James A. Calvin
Idaho	1934 - 1941	George C. Huebner
	1941 - 1946	Robert Wetherell
	1946 - 1949	George C. Huebner
	1949 - 1962	Robertson W. Smith
	1962 - 1973	Ed Simmerman
	1974 - 1977	Floyd A. Decker
	1978 - 1983	Martin L. Peterson
	1984	Ray Holly
	1985 - 1989	James B. Weatherby
	1989 - 1991	William Jarocki
	1992 - 1993	Shirley V. Mix
	1993 - 1997	Scott McDonald
	1998 -	Ken Harward
Illinois	1914 - 1922	John A. Fairlie
	1922 - 1943	A. D. McLarty
	1943 - 1968	Lon Sargent
	1968 - 1989	Steven Sargent
	1990 - 1994	Thomas G.Fitzsimmons
	1995 -	Kenneth A. Alderson
Indiana	1898 - 1922	No staff
	1922 - 1931	Frank G. Bates
	1931 - 1935	Silcott E. Spurgeon
	1935 - 1959	W. Vincent Youkey
	1959 - 1975	Ivan H. Brinegar
	1975 -	Michael J. Quinn
Iowa	1898 - 1946	Franklin G. Pierce
	1946 - 1961	Max Conrad
	1961 - 1969	Park Rinard
	1969 - 1974	Robert Hays
	1974 - 1977	Robert Josten

	1977 - 1987	Robert Harpster
	1987 - 1992	Peter King
	1992 -	Tom Bredeweg
Kansas	1910 - 1914	Richard R. Price
	1915 - 1919	Homer Talbot
	1919 - 1920	Albert A. Long
	1920 - 1955	John G. Stutz
	1955 - 1960	Allen E. Pritchard, Jr.
	1960 - 1991	E. A. Mosher
	1992 - 1999	Christopher McKenzie
	1999 -	Don Moler
Kentucky	1929 - 1967	Carl B. Wachs
	1967 - 1976	Glenn Lovern
	1976 - 1980	R. Michael Amyx
	1980 - 1991	Edwin L. Griffin, Jr.
	1991 -	Sylvia L. Lovely
Louisiana	1937 - 1941	Leon Booth
	1941 - 1952	Mrs. Henry Jastremski
	1952 - 1956	Mrs. Douglas Warriner
	1956 - 1961	Gladys Hughes
	1961 - 1969	Sidney Gray
	1969 - 1973	Marvin L. Lyons
	1973 - 1993	Charles Pasqua
	1994 -	L. Gordon King
Maine	1936 - 1939	Roy Owsley
	1940	James M. Jackson
	1941	Ernest H. Johnson
	1942	Philip S. Haberman
	1943	Ernest H. Johnson
	1943 - 1945	Ethel N. Kelley
	1944	Ernest H. Johnson

	1946 - 1950	Leigh Webber
	1950 - 1951	Eric H. Hansen
	1951 - 1954	Benjamin W. Ela
	1954 - 1966	Frank Chapman
	1966 - 1979	John Salisbury
	1979 -	Christopher Lockwood
Maryland	1936 - 1937	Alfred H. Truitt
	1938 - 1941	John Torvestad
	1941 - 1947	Thomas Conlon (President)
	1948 - 1952	Jospeh M. Ray
	1952 - 1955	Ed Johnson
	1955 - 1959	Edmund C. Mester
	1959 - 1965	Alan Beals
	1965 - 1966	Daniel R. Thompson
	1966 - 1967	Raymond G. Boileau
	1967 - 1970	Robert Helfrich
	1970 - 1973	Peter B. Harkins
	1973 - 1980	John W. Robinson
	1980 - 1995	Jon C. Burrell
	1996 -	Scott A. Hancock
Massachusetts	1961 - 1963	Robert J. M. O'Hare
	1963 - 1966	Michael J. Curran
	1966 - 1969	J. Kinney O'Rourke
	1970 - 1973	Kenneth A. Pickard
	1973 - 1980	Kennedy Shaw
	1981 - 1987	James W. Segel
	1987 - 1988	Edward Moscovitch
	1988 - 1992	Sheila M. Cheimets
	1992 -	Geoffrey C. Beckwith
Michigan	1898 - 1904	No staff
	1904 - 1908	John A. Fairlie

		Charles Sink
		Robert Crane
	1928 - 1937	Harold D. Smith
	1937 - 1944	Herbert Olson
	1944 - 1946	Three-person executive committee during legal challenge of league
	1946 - 1963	John Huss
	1963 - 1976	Robert E. Fryer
	1976 - 1982	John M. Patriarche
	1983 -	George D. Goodman
Minnesota	1915 - 1916	G. A. Gesell
	1916 - 1922	Richard R. Price
	1922 - 1935	Morris B. Lambie
	1935 - 1959	Clarence C. Ludwig
	1959 - 1969	Orville Peterson
	1969 - 1977	Dean Lund
	1977 - 1993	Donald A. Slater
	1993 -	James F. Miller
Mississippi	1931 - 1939	C. D. Ross
	1939 - 1956	George Lemon Sugg
	1956 - 1976	W. J. Caraway
	1976 - 1991	Patrick J. Dunne
	1991 - 1994	Al Sage III
	1994 - 1998	James B. Borsig
	1998 -	Jeannie Smith
Missouri	1935 - 1941	George A. Spencer
	1942 - 1965	Bruce J. Carl
	1965 - 1981	Jay T. Bell
	1981 -	Gary Markenson
Montana	1938 - 1949	M. J. Mee
	1950 - 1954	C. H. Brouer

	1954 - 1968	Alfred Klingler
	1969	Mildred MacMillan
	1969 - 1982	Dan K. Mizner
	1982 -	Alec Hansen
Nebraska	1910 - 1927	Theodore Berg
	1927 - 1930	J. H. Hale
	1930 - 1956	C. E. Beals
	1956 - 1966	A. G. Wurst
	1966 - 1967	Randall Sims
	1967 - 1969	Kenneth E. Bowen
	1969 - 1974	Del Rasmussen
	1974 - 1991	David Chambers
	1991 -	Lynn Rex
Nevada	1960 - 1965	Jerry Mann
	1965 - 1971	Curtis Blyth
	1972 - 1977	Robert E. Warren
	1977 - 1993	Gentty Etcheverry
	1993 -	Thomas J. Grady
New Hampshire	1941 - 1957	Lashley G. Harvey
	1957 - 1959	Richard Marden
	1959 - 1962	(League Closed)
	1962 - 1975	David L. Mann
	1975 -	John B. Andrews
New Jersey	1915 - 1916	Clinton J. Swartz
	1917	Claude H. Anderson
	1918	Edward Paxton
	1919	Homer Talbot
	1920 - 1932	Sedley H. Phinney
	1932	Barrett L. Crandall
	1932 - 1940	S.S. Kenworthy
	1940 - 1954	James J. Smith

	1954 - 1957	Madeleine Frost Freeman
	1957 - 1979	Robert H. Fust
	1980 - 1995	John E. Trafford
	1995 -	William G. Dressel, Jr.
New Mexico	1947 - 1948	Louis M. Prager
	1950 - 1951	Lake Frazier
	1954 - 1956	Manson Edmondson
	1960 - 1971	Donald C. Rider
	1971 - 1975	Frank Coppler
	1976 - 1977	Richard Cunningham
	1977	Sotero Sanchez (acting)
	1977 -	William F. Fulginiti
New York	1914 - 1947	William P. Capes
	1947 - 1957	Morgan Strong
	1957 - 1962	Addison Mallery
	1962 - 1982	Raymond Cothran
	1982 - 1983	Gordon Perry
	1983 - 1984	John G. Lauber
	1985 -	Edward C. Farrell
North Carolina	1908 - 1916	unknown
	1916 - 1920	Fred Sutton
	1921 - 1926	Willard Dowell
	1926 - 1932	E. J. Woodhouse
	1932	F. J. Peterson
	1933 - 1934	John Swain
	1934 - 1945	Patrick Healy, Jr. (on military leave 1942-1945)
	1945 - 1969	Davetta L. Steed (acting secretary 1942-1945)

	1969 - 1986	S. Leigh Wilson
	1986 - 1996	David E. Reynolds
	1996 -	S. Ellis Hankins
North Dakota	1926 - 1953	Myron Atkinson, Sr.
	1953 - 1960	Roberta McCreery
	1960 - 1972	Hjalmer Holt
	1972 - 1984	Arne Boyum
	1984 - 1996	Robert E. Johnson
	1996 -	Connie Sprynczynatyk
Ohio	1934	S. J. Barrick
	1935 - 1944	E. E. Hagerman
	1951 - 1955	Allen E. Pritchard, Jr.
	1955 - 1956	John E. Gotherman
	1956 - 1994	John P. Coleman
	1994 -	Susan J. Cave
Oklahoma	1913 - 1921	No staff
	1921 - 1928	Dr. Harry A. Barth
	1928 - 1930	Dr. Jack Salter
	1930 - 1932	Linden Mamen
	1932 - 1942	Frank Higgenbotham
	1942 - 1972	David Fudge
	1972 - 1988	Donald C. Rider
	1988 - 1999	William Moyer
	1999 -	Danny George
Oregon	1933 - 1963	Herman Kehrli
	1963 - 1977	Don Jones
	1977 - 1984	Stephen Bauer
	1984 - 1985	Ed Ferguson
	1985 -	Richard Townsend

Pennsylvania	1900	Frank Gable
	1901	Thomas Hanlon
	1902 - 1912	Edward Charlton
	1912 - 1929	Fred H. Gates
	1929 - 1930	R. Ross Seaman
	1930 - 1942	Byron C. Hauk
	1942 - 1951	Walter E. Greenwood
	1954 - 1959	John N. O'Neil
	1959 - 1981	Richard Marden
	1982 - 1983	William H. Hansell, Jr.
	1983 -	John A. Garner, Jr.
Rhode Island	1969 - 1977	Joseph T. McDevitt
	1977 - 1986	Kenneth F. Payne
	1986 - 1989	Guy A. Dufault
	1990 -	Daniel L. Beardsley
South Carolina	1939 - 1960	J. N. Caldwell, Sr.
	1960 - 1973	J. N. Caldwell, Jr.
	1973 - 1992	J. McDonald Wray
	1992 -	Howard Duvall
South Dakota	1934 - 1938	G. R. Breckenridge
	1938 - 1941	A. E. Mead
	1941 - 1943	S. S. Shaw
	1943 - 1952	R. D. Falk
	1952 - 1964	J. G. Barger
	1964 - 1967	R. C. Walz
	1967 - 1971	Ronald H. Ringsrud
	1971 - 1977	Ron Williamson
	1977 - 1993	Robert Miller
	1993 - 1996	John R. Thune
	1996 -	Yvonne Vik

Tennessee	1934 - 1940	John Harton
	1940 - 1942	William H. Newell
	1942 - 1944	Don Campbell
	1944 - 1946	Stanley Johnson
	1946 - 1982	Herbert J. Bingham
	1982 - 1998	Joseph A. Sweat
	1998 -	Suzette Denslow
Texas	1913 - 1918	Herman G. James
	1918 - 1919	Albert A. Long
	1919 - 1924	Frank M. Stewart
	1924 - 1926	Robert D. Jackson
	1926 - 1934	Harvey W. Draper
	1934 - 1957	E. E. McAdams
	1957 - 1970	Stephen J. Mathews
	1970 - 1984	Richard Brown
	1984 - 1988	Ted C. Willis
	1988 -	Frank Sturzl
Utah	1914	George Romney Jr.
	1929 - 1930	W. A. Fraser
	1934 - 1936	Terry J. Oldroyd
	1937 - 1964	Tom McCoy
	1964 - 1980	Bennie Schmiett
	1980 - 1985	Herschel G. Hester III
	1985 - 1988	Jan Furner
	1989 - 1990	Jack DeMann
	1990 -	Ken Bullock
Vermont	1968 - 1969	Henry E. Warren
	1969 - 1982	Robert B. Stewart
	1982 -	Steven E. Jeffrey
Virginia	1906 - 1921	L. C. Brinson
	1921 - 1941	Morton L. Wallerstein

	1941 - 1972	Harold Baumes
	1973 - 1975	Julian Hirst
	1975 - 1979	Richard DeCair
	1980 -	R. Michael Amyx
Washington	1914	Sam R. Sumner
	1918	E. D. O'Brien
	1933 - 1936	Russell Barthell
	1936 - 1972	Chester Biesen
	1972 - 1990	Kent Swisher
	1990 -	Stan Finkelstein
West Virginia	1934 - 1942	Hume K. Nolan
	1943 - 1945	W. C. Snyder (League President)
	1945 - 1954	Pat E. Maloney
	1954	Harold J. Shamberger
	1955 - 1966	Eugene Elkins
	1966 - 1970	William R. Ross
	1971 - 1993	Betty Dean
	1993 -	Lisa Dooley
Wisconsin	1898 - 1908	Samuel E. Sparling
	1908 - 1912	W. G. Kirchoffer
	1912 - 1929	Ford H. McGregor
	1929 - 1955	Frederick N. MacMillin
	1955 - 1984	Ed Johnson
	1984 - 1988	Stanley York
	1988 - 1989	Bob Tevik
	1989 -	Daniel R. Thompson
Wyoming	1928 - 1943	G. R. McConnell
	1945	M. F. Ryan
	1948 - 1952	Vincent Ostrom
	1952 - 1955	John Swanson

1955	William B. Shore
1956	H. P. Sturm
1957 - 1961	Evan Iverson
1962 - 1963	John Thompson
1963 - 1967	Vincent Picard
1967 - 1978	Walter Kingham
1978 - 1991	Robert Cantine
1991 - 1997	Carl Classen
1998 -	George Parks

Appendix II

Expenditures and Staffs

AGGREGATE LEAGUE EXPENDITURES AND TOTAL STAFF SIZE

Year	Aggregate Expenditures (not adjusted for inflation)	Total League Staff (FT, PT)
1930	$221,000	Not available
1940	366,000	Not available
1950	908,000	Not available
1955	1,800,000	251 (172 FT, 81 PT)
1960	2,700,000	290 (215 FT, 75 PT)
1965	3,908,000	280 (235 FT, 45 PT)
1974	9,000,000	424 FT
1980	16,788,000	605 FT
1992	69,000,000	981 FT
1999	139,758,000	1,352 FT

(Sources: 1930: American Municipal Association records; 1940-1965: American Municipal Association summaries published in ICMA Municipal Yearbook; 1974-1999: NLC State League Directory)

Appendix III

John G. Stutz Award Winners

Since 1961, the National League of Cities has given the John G. Stutz Award to any person who has served for twenty-five years on the staff of a state municipal league or NLC, or who has a combination of twenty-five years involving more than one league or state league and NLC staff combined. The award is designed to recognize the contributions made by long-time staff members, and is named for John G. Stutz, who served as Kansas league executive secretary from 1920 to 1955, and concurrently as American Municipal Association executive secretary from 1924 to 1931.

1961 Harold I. Baumes, Virginia Municipal League
Chester Biesen, Association of Washington Cities
C. C. Crutchfield, Texas Municipal League
Howard Gardner, League of California Cities
Kathryn M. Horan, New York Conference of Mayors
Herman Kehrli, League of Oregon Cities
Tom McCoy, Utah League of Cities and Towns
Orville Peterson, League of Minnesota Cities
Ed E. Reid, Alabama League of Municipalities
Sylvia Sapirie, Indiana Association of Cities and Towns
Davetta L. Steed, North Carolina League of Municipalities
Winston L. Updegraff, League of California Cities
Carl B. Wachs, Kentucky Municipal League

1962 Albert B. Martin, League of Kansas Municipalities

1965 J. G. Barger, South Dakota Municipal League
Luther Haas, Michigan Municipal League

1967 Bernice Fairfax, League of Minnesota Cities
Glenn G. Zimmerman, Arkansas Municipal League

1968 A. L. Sargent, Illinois Municipal League

1969 Mrs. Joe Dixon, Tennessee Municipal League
Dorothy Nickelson, Illinois Municipal League
Lyla Ray, Utah League of Cities and Towns

1970 Roberta Thatcher, New Jersey State League of Municipalities
Faye L. McCall, Pennsylvania League of Cities

1971 Erma Davidson, Arkansas Municipal League

1972 Herbert J. Bingham, Tennessee Municipal League
Mary S. Pace, Virginia Municipal League
Elvira R. Tucci, New Jersey State League of Municipalities
S. Leigh Wilson, North Carolina League of Municipalities

1973 Jay T. Bell, Missouri Municipal League
William G. Fleming, Arkansas Municipal League
Robert E. Fryer, Michigan Municipal League
Ralph A. Marsicano, League of Florida Cities

1974 Robert H. Fust, New Jersey State League of Municipalities

1975 Murial Carter, Indiana Association of Cities and Towns
A. M. Ferro, Utah League of Cities and Towns

1978 Audrey Poole, League of Wisconsin Municipalities

1979 Bill Edwards, Ohio Municipal League
Herman Kehrli, League of Oregon Cities
Arnold M. Westling, League of Oregon Cities

1980 Clemmie T. Courson, Florida League of Cities

1981 John P. Coleman, Ohio Municipal League

1982 Sara F. Gillaspy, Mississippi Municipal Association
W. Elmer George, Georgia Municipal Association
John F. Watkins, Alabama League of Municipalities

1983 Ruby Goen, Georgia Municipal Association
John E.Trafford, New Jersey State League of Municipalities

1984 Raymond C. Sittig, Florida League of Cities

1985 Beverly J. Collins, National League of Cities
Virginia G. Poole, North Carolina League of Municipalities
Robert L. Tevik, League of Wisconsin Municipalities

1986 Mary E. Bencivengo, New Jersey State League of Municipalities
Donald L. Jones, National League of Cities

1987 Alan Beals, National League of Cities
Larry A. Williams, National League of Cities

1990 Russell Marchner, Florida League of Cities
Eugene F. Berrodin, Michigan Municipal League
M. Ann Blackwood, Michigan Municipal League
Rita Stanley, Texas Municipal League

1991 Kenneth G. Bueche, Colorado Municipal League
Don A. Zimmerman, Arkansas Municipal League

1992 Gentty T. Etcheverry, Nevada League of Cities
Shirley S. Smith, Michigan Municipal League

1994 Carol Y. Wehmueller, Maryland Municipal League
Carol Kocheisen, National League of Cities

1995 Joann Capers, Georgia Municipal Association
Delores Kopp, Missouri Municipal League
Regina Romero, New Mexico Municipal League

1996 John B. Andrews, New Hampshire Municipal Association
Jeff Fletcher, National League of Cities
Janel Helt, Colorado Municipal League
Maureen Hudson, North Carolina League of Municipalities
Janet B. Lessard, North Carolina League of Municipalities
Karen A. Liskey, Maryland Municipal League
Gary Markenson, Missouri Municipal League
Stanley G. Peskar, League of Minnesota Cities
Nancy J. Sheehan, Arkansas Municipal League
William L. Steude, Michigan Municipal League
Marilyn G. Weeden, League of Wisconsin Municipalities
Sue Whitaker, Indiana Association of Cities and Towns

1997 W. E. George, Jr., Georgia Municipal Association
William A. Moyer, Oklahoma Municipal League
Joseph A. Sweat, Tennessee Municipal League

1998 Kenneth A. Alderson, Illinois Municipal League
Stan Finkelstein, Association of Washington Cities
William F. Fulginiti, New Mexico Municipal League
Bill Johnson, Missouri Municipal League
Darlyne Lang, League of Minnesota Cities

Barbara Major, Colorado Municipal League
Connie Monroe, Illinois Municipal League
John O'Keefe, Michigan Municipal League
Margaret Palinski, New Jersey State League of Municipalities
Dolores Schulte, Missouri Municipal League
Michael Sittig, Florida League of Cities
Susan Vasher, Michigan Municipal League

1999 William G. Makela, League of Minnesota Cities
William G. Dressel, Jr., New Jersey State League of Municipalities
Gary Watkins, Texas Municipal League
Florence Nakai, League of California Cities
Joan McNeil, League of California Cities
Vicki Gorr, League of California Cities
Terry Dugan, League of California Cities
Dan Harrison, League of California Cities
Michael J. Quinn, Indiana Association of Cities and Towns
Perry Roquemore, Alabama League of Municipalities
Larry Frang, Illinois Municipal League
William Barnes, National League of Cities
Marc Shapiro, National League of Cities

Appendix IV

Jay T. Bell and Outstanding Professional Award Winners

State league directors decided to develop an award program in 1981 in memory of Jay T. Bell, who died that year while serving as executive director of Missouri Municipal League. Bell had previously served as executive director of the Colorado Municipal League and began his career on the staff of Michigan Municipal League. Seven persons who later became league directors in their own right started their careers under Bell's tutelage. The award, initially called the Jay T. Bell Award, was given to the "outstanding state league staff member with less than five years of experience" because of Bell's track record in developing the interest of younger persons new to league work in pursuing league careers.

League directors decided to modify the award in 1988 so that state league staff persons with more than five years experience could be recognized and changed the title of the award to the State Municipal League Professional Achievement Award. It was last awarded in 1991.

1982 Rick Curneal, Wyoming

1983 John A. Garner, Jr., Pennsylvania

1984 Sam Mamet, Colorado

1985 David N. Osborn, Michigan

1986 Joel J. Jamnik, Minnesota

1987 Billy George, Georgia

1988 William A. Thielen, Kentucky

1989 Kenneth A. Alderson, Illinois

1990 Dwight Stenbakken, California

1991 Gary Watkins, Texas

Appendix V

1999 State League Budgets and Staff Size

State	Annual Budget ($)	Total Number of Staff (FTE)
Alabama	1,470,510	15
Alaska	696,000	5
Arizona	1,159,500	9
Arkansas	2,250,000	37
California	7,117,230	48
Colorado	1,820,000	13
Connecticut	10,684,263	134
Delaware	81,750	1
Florida	14,745,000	150
Georgia	13,730,300	72.5
Idaho	530,000	4
Illinois	2,380,000	17
Indiana	1,271,634	14
Iowa	1,717,000	21
Kansas	1,400,000	16
Kentucky	7,949,940	47
Louisiana	971,600	12
Maine	7,313,720	93

State	Annual Budget ($)	Total Number of Staff (FTE)
Maryland	1,000,000	12
Massachusetts	3,312,765	37
Michigan	6,225,895	61
Minnesota	7,300,00	73.5
Mississippi	1,170,000	5
Missouri	860,000	9
Montana	256,000	3
Nebraska	1,036,572	9
Nevada	293,650	3
New Hampshire	1,348,255	23
New Jersey	1,924,300	18
New Mexico	1,600,000	24
New York	1,537,709	17
North Carolina	8,021,355	79
North Dakota	268,500	3
Ohio	1,217,571	10
Oklahoma	2,023,297	22
Oregon	2,600,000	15
Pennsylvania	1,700,000	18
Rhode Island	350,000	3
South Carolina	4,298,946	31
South Dakota	447,598	4.5
Tennessee	1,345,500	10
Texas	4,194,680	41
Utah	1,233,922	6
Vermont	2,185,176	31.5
Virginia	1,500,000	22
Washington	2,797,176	36
West Virginia	264,304	3
Wisconsin	1,144,000	9
Wyoming	525,299	5

(Source: October 1999 Survey by National League of Cities)

Sources and References

The objective of this book was to develop a composite record of the history of state municipal leagues from the time the first leagues were formed in the 1890s over the next one hundred years, to the end of the 1990s. Virtually all of the information comes from documents published by the leagues themselves or from publications and files of American Municipal Association/National League of Cities.

Extensive footnotes tend to be distracting to readers and consume a lot of space and have therefore been omitted from this publication.

Published State League Histories

Several leagues have published their own histories, a few as free-standing hard-back or paper back books, some as pamphlets, others as articles in their magazines. These league histories have been used whenever possible. Some leagues do not have published histories, but have made available copies of minutes of early meetings and other file materials that have been helpful.

These state league histories, either in hard back, soft back or pamphlet form, are on file at NLC:

- A History of the Arkansas Municipal League 1934 - 1994, Spring, 1994.
- "For the Sake of the Best Life," The First 75 Years of the Colorado Municipal League, 1997.
- Chronicle of Progress 1913 - 1988, Illinois Municipal League.
- The Indiana Association of Cities and Towns, A History of Urban Achievement 1891 - 1987.

- The Michigan Municipal League: A Century of Cooperation, 1999.
- Historic Profile Charts Achievements of the League During Three Quarters of a Century of Growth, New Jersey State League of Municipalities (also published in May 1990 issue of New Jersey Municipalities).
- 75 Years of Service, A History of the North Carolina League of Municipalities, 1983.
- History of the North Dakota League of Cities, 75th Anniversary, 1987.
- League of Oregon Cities, 1925 to 1995, 70th Anniversary, 1995.
- A History of the Tennessee Municipal League, 1983.
- 90 Years and Counting: Utah League of Cities and Towns, 1997.
- Virginia Municipal League, Its First 90 Years, 1995.
- Association of Washington Cities, 1934 - 1984.
- The League of Wisconsin Municipalities: A Centennial History, 1998.

State League Magazines

Much of the information in this publication came from of magazines published by the state municipal leagues on file in the NLC Municipal Reference Service. Most leagues did not publish magazines from the date they were organized; magazines usually began a few years into their existence when staff and finances permitted. So they seldom describe early years of league operations. But league magazines contain useful information about current issues, organization and activities, and the occasional league histories published in magazines have been quite helpful.

In the mid 1950s, the American Municipal Association converted to microfilm their collection of state league magazines up to that time. Those microfilm files were moved when AMA relocated its headquarters from Chicago to Washington in 1954 and have been maintained in the National League of Cities Municipal Reference Service. There are some gaps in NLC's state league magazine files in the late 1950s and early 1960s, however, between the microfilm project and the time NLC

in Washington geared up its capacity once again to receive and maintain a complete file of state league magazines. The Municipal Reference Service files of league magazines since the early 1960s are quite complete.

Municipal Year Book

The Municipal Year Book, published annually since 1934 by the International City/County Management Association, included a brief narrative summary of highlights of state municipal league activity for thirty-four years—from 1934 through 1968. The summary was prepared for the Year Book by the American Municipal Association /National League of Cities. Also included was a directory of state league office locations and executive directors. The directory of league office locations and executive directors is still published in the Year Book. The Municipal Year Book directory was helpful in compiling Appendix I of this publication, the roster of persons who have held state league executive director positions.

NLC Directories

Since 1974, National League of Cities has published (approximately annually) a State League Directory containing profiles of each state municipal league. NLC has also published a private circulation newsletter for state municipal league executive directors, which includes reports on individual state league activities. The first such newsletter was published in 1936, but it was apparently not published regularly again until 1965. In the early 1960s AMA published FOCUS as a report on state league activities. The annual State League Directory and the state league newsletter were helpful in preparing parts of this history.

National Municipal Review

The National Municipal League reported periodically on state municipal league activities when it began publication of National Municipal Review in 1912. A roster of state municipal leagues, prepared by the executive secretary of the New Jersey league at the time, was published in the September 1918 issue.

American City Magazine

American City Magazine published what appears to be the first roster of state municipal leagues in its January 1914 issue, and announced its intention of making reports on state leagues a regular feature of the magazine. Only scattered occasional reports of state league meetings were published after that, however, and no further state league rosters were published. But both National Municipal Review and American City were helpful sources of information about leagues in pre-World War I years.

Academic Papers About State Leagues

In the course of the research for this publication, a number of unpublished academic studies or doctoral dissertations have been located that provide detailed information about particular leagues, or in some cases about leagues generally. They were helpful in directing the author to primary sources of information.

- Dave Barney, "The League of Arizona Cities and Towns: Reverse Pressure in a Precocious State," (Paper prepared for seminar on pressure groups at Arizona State University, 1961).
- David R. Berman, "Speaking for Cities: An Analysis of the Growth and Operation of the League of Cities Movement," (unpublished manuscript, Arizona State University, 1968).
- Kenneth E. Kerle, "The League of Kansas Municipalities" ({Ph.D. dissertation, American University, 1967).
- Eddie Mac Young, "The Roles and Functions of State Leagues of Municipalities: A Study in Intergovernmental Relations" (Ph.D. dissertation, American University, 1974).

Other Sources on State Municipal Leagues

Other sources of information on state leagues generally that were consulted during research on this project include:

- George A. Bell, The Michigan Municipal League: An Analysis of Policies and Services, (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1957). Includes an excellent bibliography of articles on state leagues generally up through 1954.
- Patrick Healy III, The Nation's Cities-Change and Challenge (Harper and Row, New York, 1974).

- Harold D. Smith, Part IV, Associations of Cities and Of Municipal Officials, in Urban Government, Volume I of the Supplementary Report to the Urbanism Committee to the National Resources Committee, (U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1939).

Rockefeller Archive Center

The files of the Spelman Fund of New York, maintained at the Rockefeller Archive Center, located in Pocantico Hills, Sleepy Hollow, New York, were helpful in tracking the American Municipal Association's work with state municipal leagues during the 1930s. The Spelman Fund, founded by John D. Rockefeller Sr. as a memorial to his wife Laura Spelman Rockefeller, provided grants for several years in the 1930s to AMA not only for AMA operations but also for an AMA-administered network of field agents in state leagues. The Spelman Fund working files contain many details of AMA's work with state leagues not found elsewhere.

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